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## CRITICAL NOTES ON CLEM. AL. *STROM.* I. AND II.<sup>1</sup>

§ 70, p. 358. φασὶ γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον δέικνυσθαι πέτραν τινά. Read τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

*Ib.* τοῦ δὲ εἰς γῆν μεταβαλόντος σώματος πῶς ὡς εἰκὸς ἀναφύεισθαι. Read ἐξαναφύεισθαι to supply a government for τοῦ σώματος.

§ 76, p. 364. ἐπὶ τε Σεμράμεως βασιλείῳς Αἰγυπτίων. So the MS., but Eusebius, quoting from Clement, gives βασιλίδος Ἀσσυρίων. Dindorf corrects the former word, but omits to change the latter.

§ 81, p. 367. (Philosophy was filched from Revelation) οὐχὶ μὴ εἰδότες τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν ἐσομένων πρὸ καταβολῆς τοῦ ἔκαστον εἶναι ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύσαντος. [Perhaps καταβολῆς τοῦ <κόσμου> ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύσαντος ἕκαστον εἶναι. I.B.]

§ 82, p. 367. Discussing the question whether he who does not hinder the occurrence of a certain thing can be justly denominated the cause of the occurrence, Clement says διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν ἐπιτελεῖται, ὅτι τὸ κωλύσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ οὐδὲ κωλύει. Evidently this follows an assertion of causality, such as we have some lines higher up, φῶ γὰρ κωλύσαι δύναμις ἦν, τούτῳ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος προσάπτεται. But the words immediately preceding our sentence were to the opposite effect, τὸ δὲ μὴ κωλῶν κευδύριστα τοῦ γυγνομένου, which again are quite in harmony with the words immediately following it, τί γὰρ ἐνεργεῖ ὁ μὴ κωλῶν; κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> The initials H.J. denote Dr. Jackson's notes read before the Cambridge Philological Society in 1893 and 1894; I.B. ms. notes received from Professor Bywater.

The sentence must therefore be placed after προσάπτεται.

§ 84, p. 368. ὁ δὲ μὴ κωλύσας τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς ψυχῆς κρίνει δικαίως, ἵν' ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ θεὸς μὲν ἡμῖν κακίας ἀναίτιος, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων προαίρεσις...κατάρχει...εἰκότως αἱ κολάσεις. Insert ἢ either before ἡμῖν or after ἀναίτιος, beginning a new sentence with ἐπεὶ.

§ 91, p. 371. ἐπεὶ οὖν μαρτυροῦνται ἀληθῆ τινα δογματίζειν καὶ Ἕλληνες, ἔξεστι κἀντεῦθεν σκοπεῖν. For ἐπεὶ οὖν read ὅτι μὲν οὖν. The witness that the Greeks had some knowledge of the truth is contained in the following quotations from St. Paul.

§ 93, p. 373. ἀρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοὶ πίστιν ἔκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραφῶν τὴν μετὰ θάνατον ἐλπίδα...σαφηνίζειν (ὁ Πλάτων); For the impossible πίστιν read perhaps πιστικῶς or πιθανῶς. [I.B. suggests πιστεύων or πιστεύσας.]

*Ib.* After contrasting the knowledge of geometry and other sciences with the knowledge of the absolute good, Clement continues ἐτέρων μὲν ὄντων τὰγαθοῦ ὁδῶν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰγαθόν. Read ἐτέρων μὲν ὄντος τὰγαθοῦ, ἐτέρων δὲ τῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὰγαθόν ὁδῶν.

§ 94, p. 374. κατ' ἐμφασιν δὲ καὶ διάφασιν οἱ ἀκριβῶς παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσοφῆσαντες διορῶσι τὸν θεόν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἀδυναμίαν φαντασίαι ἀληθεῖς ὡς φαντασία καθορᾶται, ἐν τοῖς ὁδοῖσιν ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν διαφανῶν καὶ διανγῶν σωμάτων. Clement is here comparing the ideas of the Greeks about God to the images of real objects seen by reflexion or through a semi-transparent medium. Should we read διορίζουσι for διορῶσι, which usually means 'see clearly'? In what follows I think we should

insert οὐσαι after τοιαῦται γάρ, put a comma after ἀληθείς, continuing ὡς φαντάσματα, καθορῶνται, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ὁρῶμεν (or τὰ... ὁρώμενα), 'for being such, the inadequate perceptions are still truly beheld, as images, which we see in pieces of water and through transparent bodies.' The allusion is to St. Paul's δι' ἐσόπτρων, and to Plato's scale of knowledge, beginning with shadows, of which the second stage is τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα (*Rep.* vi. 510 A).

§ 96, p. 375. καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν παρακελεύομαι, λέγουσα φησὶν ἡ σοφία τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις δηλονότι. Place λέγουσα after δηλονότι.

§ 129, p. 396. [For τῷ Θαλεῖ read τῷ Θαλῇ. I.B.]

§ 155, p. 414. ὄνομα δὲ Μωσὴν ὠνόμαζε τοῦ χάριν ὑγρὰς ἀνέιλε ποταμίας ἀπ' ἡόνος. Read ὠνόμαζ', ὅσον χάριν. [Here I find I am anticipated by Cobet.]

§ 156, p. 415. [προδιδασκόμενος εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ποιμενικὴν, read with Davis on Cic. *N.D.* ii. 64 ποιμενική. I.B.]

§ 158, p. 416. δεύτερον δέ ἐστιν εἶδος βασιλείας...τὸ μόνον τῷ θυμοειδεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς βασιλείαν συγχρώμενον. Read μόνῳ for μόνον.

*Ib.* τοῦ γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ μὲν φιλόνεικον μόνον ἐστίν...τὸ δὲ φιλόκαλον εἰς καλὴν καταχρωμένης τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ θυμῷ. One's first impulse is to read καλόν here for καλήν, but perhaps the termination is more easily explained if we suppose that ἀρετὴν was the original word, and that καλ- crept in from the preceding φιλόκαλον, which should be followed by a comma. [I.B. suggests κολλονήν.]

§ 160, p. 417. ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρμηνον ἐτρέπετο καὶ νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ πορείᾳ ἐκέχρητο. Should we not read ἐχρήτο here, as well as in *Protr.* p. 48 Ἑρμῆς προσηγορεύετο ὁ Νικαγόρας καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἐκέχρητο?

§ 164, p. 419. [τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνο τὸ εὐκὸς στέλλω καὶ πῦρ τὸ διὰ βάτου σύμβολόν ἐστι φωτὸς ἁγίου, read with V. δι' ἀβάτου, comparing § 161 ἵγρε νύκτωρ τοὺς Ἑβραίους δι' ἀβάτου. I.B.]

§ 165, p. 419. ἄρα οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐρμηνεύει πρὸς ἓνα θεὸν ἀφορᾶν...ἐντελλόμενος. Read ἄρ' οὐ with a question. Just before omit καὶ after τῇ αὐτῇ.

§ 166, p. 420. ἔτι τὸ μὲν νομικὸν πρὸς γενέσεως εἶναι, τὸ πολιτικὸν δὲ πρὸς φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας ὁ Πλάτων ὠφελῆθεις ('borrowing from Scripture') τοῖς μὲν Νόμοις τὸν φιλόσοφον γόν ἐν τῇ Ἐπινομίδι συνέταξεν. Insert (after ὠφελῆθεις) εἶπεν, καί.

§ 171, p. 422. μὴ τοίνυν κατατρεχέτω τις τοῦ νόμου διὰ τῆς τιμωρίας ὡς οὐ καλοῦ κάγαθοῦ. Read τὰς τιμωρίας, 'let none depreciate

the law as imperfect on account of its penalties.' [H.J. would keep τῆς, translating 'let no man make punishment an instrument in running down the law.']

§ 176, p. 425. (The Platonic dialectic is useful) οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ λέγειν τι καὶ πράττειν τι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους...ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένα μὲν λέγειν δύνασθαι, κεχαρισμένα δὲ πράττειν τὸ πᾶν εἰς δύναμιν. Insert τοῦ (governed by ἕνεκα) before τῷ θεῷ, and for τὸ πᾶν read τὰ πάντα.

§ 177, p. 425. μικτὴ δὲ φιλοσοφία οὐσα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἢ ἀληθῆς διαλεκτικῇ...ὑπεξεναβαίνει. Read with Lowth μικτὴ δὲ φιλοσοφία οὐσα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

§ 178, p. 425. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῷ ὄντι δείξας ὅπως τε γνωστέον ἐαυτούς. Dindorf would here read an unmeaning γε for τε, in preference to Sylburg's insertion of ὅπως τε τὸν θεόν after δείξας. The latter is suggested by the preceding line ὅφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκουμεν ἡμῖν θεὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. [I.B. suggests ὅπως <πο>τέ γνωστέον.]

§ 179, p. 426. ἦδει τινὰς γάλα μόνον εἰληφότας, οὐδέπω δὲ καὶ βρώμα, αὐτίκα οὐχ ἀπλῶς γάλα. Read with Lowth ἡ τάχα for αὐτίκα.

§ 181, p. 427. After quoting from Hermas to the effect that visions were sent for the benefit of the double-minded, Clement proceeds ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολυμαθοῦς περιουσίας ἀποδείξει εἰς ἰσχυροποιούσι καὶ βεβαιούσι καὶ θεμελιούσι τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀποδεικτικούς, ὅσον ἐτι αἱ αὐτῶν ὡς νέων φρένες ἡρέθονται. Put a comma after ἰσχυροποιούσι, and for ὅσον ἐτι αἱ αὐτῶν read <τούτων ἕνεκα> ὅσων ἐτι αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν.

## BOOK II.

§ 3, p. 430. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀρνίθας ἡδίστην ἔχειν τὴν σαρκὸς ποιότητα ὅτε οὐκ ἀφθόνου τροφῆς παραθεβίσας αὐταῖς αἰδεσκαλεύονται τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκλέγονται μετὰ πόνου τὰς τροφάς. εἰ τις οὖν τοῦ ὁμοίου θεωρητικὸς ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς πηθανοῖς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς τὸ ἀληθὲς διαλεληθὲν αἰ ποθεῖ καθάπερ ὑπὸ τοῖς μορμολυκείοις τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ ἀληθινὸν πολυπραγμονήσας θηράσεται. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁράματι τῷ Ἑρμῇ ἡ δύναμις ἢ φανείσα κ.τ.λ. For αἰδε read ἀλλά, for διαλεληθέναι perhaps διαλεληθὸς εὑρεθῆναι (or the syllables -αλεληθ- may be merely an echo of the preceding ἀληθές, in which case such a word as διακαλυφθῆναι might be concealed under διαλεληθέναι), translating 'if any one, who is fond of noting resemblances, desires that the truth which lies hidden in many plausible Greek stories should be revealed, like the true face under the masks, by careful study he will hunt it out.' In the

next sentence we should either put τῷ Ἑρμῇ after γάρ or after φανείσα, or else read τοῦ Ἑρμῆ. [I.B. proposes a simpler remedy, the insertion of μὴ before διαλεληθέναι and Ἑρμῆ gen.]

§ 6, p. 431. δῆλον ὃν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ κεκρύφθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς παραδείγματος ἤδη δέδεικται, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ διὰ πλειόνων παραστήσομεν. Insert δὲ after εἰ, the second δὲ is *in apodosis*.

§ 8, p. 432. In the quotation from Heraclitus read, according to Bywater's text, ὁκόσοις ἐγκυρεύουσι for ὁκόσοι ἐγκυρσεύουσι.

§ 9, p. 433. In this bewildering chapter the only correction which I venture to make is in the last sentence, αἱ γούν τῶν Σειρήνων ἐπιτελέσεις δύναμιν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐνδεικνύμεναι ἐξέπληττον τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. Hervey in his commentary honestly says *quod autem verti 'cantus efficaces,' Graece est ἐπιτελέσεις, id est 'perfectiones.'* *Quod Graecum quidem non satis exprimit, sed mihi non occurrit aliud.* Perhaps the true reading is the otherwise unknown ἐπικηλήσεις. The words κηλέω and κηλήσις are often employed of the Sirens, and ἐπικηλήσις might be used as a stronger form of ἐπαγωγή. [H.J. would read ὑπεράνθρωπον one word.]

§ 11, p. 434. οὐδὲ βάπτισμα ἔτι εὐλογον οὐδὲ μακαρία σφραγίς. '(If all is governed by necessity) there is no reason for baptism or for the blessed seal.' Should we not insert ἢ before μακαρία?

§ 15, p. 436. οἱ δὲ ἀπιστοὶ ὡς εἰσὶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἔλκουσιν εἰς γῆν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρύς περιλαμβάνοντες κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων δυσχυρίζονται τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον, ὅπερ ἔχει προσβολὴν καὶ ἐπαφήν τινα, ταῦτόν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὀριζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες μάλα εὐλαβῶς ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου ποθὲν ἀμύνονται νοητὰ ἅττα καὶ ἀσώματα εἶδη, βιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι. This is a good specimen of the way in which Dindorf goes to work. The reference to Plato not being given in Potter's edition, he has not taken the trouble to compare the original, and apparently is quite unconscious of the absurdities and inconsistencies which he is putting into the mouth of Plato. If we turn to the *Sophistes* 246 A, we find there the words from ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοὺς ὀριζόμενους scarcely altered, except that ὁ παρέχει is the original of ὅπερ ἔχει and should probably replace it here. But after ὀριζόμενοι we find some lines interposed, and then we read, not of the materialists, who formed the subject of the previous sentence, but of their opponents (οἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες) that they take their

stand on the side of the invisible, maintaining that true existence is to be found not in matter, but in the incorporeal objects of the intelligence. Put a full stop therefore after ὀριζόμενοι, and begin a new sentence with <οἱ δὲ>, adding a comma after ἀμύνονται and removing the comma after εἶδη. [H.J. makes the same emendations, but is inclined to add πιστοὶ οἱ after οἱ δὲ.]

§ 17, p. 437. αὐτὸς μὲν ὧτα ἔχει τὰ ἀκουστικὰ τῆς ἀληθείας· μακάριος δὲ ὁ λέγων εἰς ὧτα ἀκουόντων, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει μακάριος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ὑπακοῆς. Potter rightly suggests the omission of the last ὁ, the genitive depending on μακάριος.

§ 18, p. 438. οἱ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες χρηστοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ λέγονται ὡς οἱ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικοὶ βασιλεῖ μεμελημένοι. ὡς γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ σοφία εἰσὶ σοφοί... οὕτως οἱ Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ Χριστοῦ Χριστιανοί. Dindorf follows Sylburg in placing the first βασιλικοὶ before οἱ τῷ ὄντι. I should rather read ὡς τῷ ὄντι βασιλικοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖ μεμελημένοι. In the following clause read οἱ Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ <μεμελημένοι> βασιλεῖς καὶ Χριστιανοί, omitting οἱ Χριστοῦ as a gloss.

§ 19, p. 438. ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς νόμος, ὡς προεῖρηται, βασιλικὸς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐμψυχος. For ἐμὸς read perhaps ἡμέτερος. Should we make the same change in *Prot.*, p. 3, αἶδει δέ γε ὁ Εὐνόμος ὁ ἐμὸς... τὸν αἰδίων νόμον, p. 4 οὐ τοιούδε ὁ ᾧδος ὁ ἐμὸς, and *Strom.* iv. p. 642 τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν ἐμὴν?

§ 21, p. 439. πρὸς αὐτῶν προφητῶν ἀνακηρυττόμενος. Insert τῶν after αὐτῶν. [πρὸς αὐτῶν προφητῶν. H.J.]

§ 22, p. 440. εἰ τις δυσχυρίζοιτο εἶναι τοὺς δικαίους, ἂν καὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες αἰσχροὶ τὰ σώματα, κατὰ γε τὸ δικαίωτάτον ἦθος ταύτῃ ἂν καλοὺς εἶναι σχεδὸν οὐδέεν ἂν λέγων οὕτω πλημμελῶς δόξειεν λέγειν. For ἂν καλοὺς read παγκάλους, as in the original (*Plat. Legg.* ix. 859). [H.J. has made the same correction.] The reference is of course wanting in Dindorf as he could not find it in Potter.

§ 23, p. 441. μαχητικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐθέλονταὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν μισθοφόρων εἶναι πάμπολλοι. For ἐθέλονται and εἶναι read ἐθέλοντες and εἰσὶν, as in the original (*Legg.* i. 630). Dindorf only corrects the latter.

§ 23, p. 441. πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέπων μάλιστα σταθῆσεται τοὺς νόμους. Dindorf in his note, copying Sylburg, says that Plato (*l.c.*) has στήσει. The actual words are πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θῆσει τοὺς νόμους. The first syllable of σταθῆσεται is merely a dittography

of the preceding syllable, Clement here using the middle *θήσεται* for the active, as he does of Zaleucus in i. § 79. [Here again I am anticipated by Bywater and Cobet (and by Boeckh *ad Plat. Min.* p. 94, as I learn from I.B.). H.J. prefers to read *θήσει* *ἀεὶ* as keeping closer to Plato.]

§ 24, p. 441. [τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς ἐπιστήμη πιστὴ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπιδείξις, *fort.* πίστις. I.B.] This seems confirmed by § πίστει οὖν ἐφικέσθαι μόνῃ οἴονται τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς. On the other hand C. seems to use the adjective πιστός, or πειστός as Sylburg spells it, in the sense of 'probable,' 'needing the exercise of faith,' cf. § 16 πιστὴ τοίνυν ἡ γνῶσις.

§ 26, p. 442. συνεργεῖ οὖν καὶ ἡ γόνιμος ὑπάρχουσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων καταβολήν. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς ἀρίστης παιδείσεως ὀφελὸς τι ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ μανθάνοντος παραδοχῆς οὔτε μὴν προφητείας οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἀκούοντων εὐπειθείας μὴ παρούσης. Insert γῆ, which has been lost before γόνιμος (the addition of ὑπάρχουσα forbids us to take ἡ γόνιμος as a substantive with Sylburg), 'the land by its natural fertility assists the sowing'; and omit the last οὔτε, as Sylburg suggests.

§ 27, p. 443. πῶς οὖν εἰ τὸ πιστεύειν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐστὶ, βέβαια τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι νομίζουσιν; Read αὐτῶν.

§ 29, p. 444. τῇ ἐξ ἐθνῶν κλήσει λέγων, τῇ στείρῃ ποτὲ τοῦτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὅς ἐστιν ὁ λόγος. Omit τοῦτου which probably arose from dittography of τοῦ.

§ 30, p. 445. φημὶ τοίνυν τὴν πίστιν, εἴτε ἐπὶ ἀγάπης θεμελιωθῇ εἴτε καὶ ἐπὶ φόβου, ἢ φασὶν οἱ κατήγοροι, θεῶν τι εἶναι. For εἴτε read ἦντε.

§ 31, p. 445. θεία τοίνυν ἡ τοσαύτη μεταβολὴ ἐξ ἀπιστίας πιστῶν τι γενόμενον καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι καὶ τῷ φόβῳ πιστεύουσιν. Read τινα for τι. Just below in ἡ πρώτη πρὸς σωτηρίαν νεῦσις ἡ πίστις...μεθ' ἣν φόβος τε καὶ ἐλπίς καὶ μετάνοια σὺν τε ἔγκρατείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ προκόπουσιν αἰγουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τε ἀγάπῃ ἐπὶ τε γνῶσιν, it makes a better construction to take σὺν as adverbial (like πρὸς in § 1, p. 429 and often), reading ἐγκράτεια and ὑπομονή in the nominative.

Ib. στοιχείων γοῦν τῆς γνώσεως τῶν προειρημένων ἀρετῶν στοιχειωδέστεραν εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὴν πίστιν. Insert οὐδῶν after γνώσεως. A little below in ὡς δ' ἄνευ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων οὐκ ἔστι ζῆν, οὐδ' ἄνευ πίστεως γνῶσιν ἐπακολουθήσαι, insert οὕτως before οὐδέ, as in *Paed.* i. p. 103 καθάπερ οὖν οὐκ ἔστι φῶς ὃ μὴ φωτίζει...οὐδὲ φιλοῦν ὃ μὴ φιλεῖ <οὕτως> οὐδὲ αγαθὸν εἶναι ὃ μὴ ὠφελεῖ.

§ 32, p. 446. τρία γὰρ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑφέστηκεν παρὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον. Read περί.

§ 36, p. 448. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ

καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν διακρίνας ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι προπέμπει. This seems to be inconsistent with the general teaching of Basilides (see Hort in *D. of Christ. Biog.* i. p. 273). There is no discrimination or sorting in the first putting forth of existence from the Supreme Being. The sorting takes place through the Son, who raises up with him what belongs to the different spheres, assigning each existence to the charge of the ruler of its sphere, the lower to the lower, the highest to the highest. Perhaps therefore we should insert υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν before ἐπὶ πᾶσι, 'the Son sifts, not merely the world, but the elect also, and carries up with him (those that are sifted) into the presence of Him who is over all.'

Ib. καὶ ὡς περ εἰς φόβος ἐπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πλάσματος ὑπῆρξε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅτε μείζονα ἐφθέγγετο τῆς πλάσεως...οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀνθρώπων φόβοι τὰ ἔργα ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἐγένετο. According to Valentinus, the angels who were employed in framing the first man were startled at the inspired words which he uttered; in like manner men themselves have bowed down in fear before the idols made by their own hands. The MS. reading ὡσπερ εἰς φόβος or ὡς περίφοβος does not correspond rightly with the following οὕτω. Read ὡσπερ φόβος.

§ 37, p. 449. εἰ δὲ ἄγνοια προκατῆρξε τῆς ἐκπλήξεως, εἰ δ' ἡ ἐκπλήξις καὶ ὁ φόβος ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ γεγένηται, κινδυνεύει τῆς τε σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἀπάσης...ἀγνοια προκατάρχειν. Read ἡ δὲ for εἰ δ' ἡ, and omit as a gloss φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ.

§ 38, p. 449. ἡ τὸ τελευταῖον, γνῶσις πεποιθότες ἐτόλμησαν ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον. μαθόντες τὸ διαφέρειν τὸ ἐν πληρώματι ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔτι καὶ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἀρχέντων καὶ ὁ σὺν τῇ γνῶσει τῇ λοιπῇ ἀφθαρτον παρελήφεσαν. Put a colon after ἐτόλμησαν, and commas after ἀδύνατον, πληρώματι, ἀρχέντων, and omit the comma before ἔτι. For μαθόντες read μαθόντας, agreeing with the subject (understood) of ἐπιβουλεύειν, which explains the preceding relative ὃ; for τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα read τῷ κ. ε. in apposition with ἀνθρώπῳ, put ἔτι after ἀρχέντων, and omit καὶ. The sense will then be 'or, as a last alternative, the angels may have conspired against the first man, because they knew that all would turn out for the best in the end. But this is impossible, that when they knew the supreme Excellence in the Pleroma they should plot against man, against the copy, in whom the original pattern was still visible, which pattern they



had received with the rest of their knowledge, as an imperishable treasure.'

§ 39, p. 449. εἰ τοίνυν κακῶν ἀρχὴν ἀφοβίαν εἶρκεν ἦν ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου φόβος ἐργάζεται, ἀγαθὸν ὁ φόβος...φόβῳ δὲ ἀφοβίαν εἰσάγων, οὐ πάθει ἀπάθειαν, παιδεία δὲ μετροπάθειαν ἐμποιεῖ. The reference is to Prov. i. 33, quoted just before, ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' εἰρήνης πεποιθὼς καὶ ἡσυχάσει ἀφόβως ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. It is evident that this ἀφοβία, caused by the fear of the Lord, cannot be κακῶν ἀρχή. Potter suggests κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν, Lowth καλῶν ἀρχήν; but neither of these seems quite suitable. If the original reading were κακῶν ἀφοβίαν εἶρκεν, this would at once exactly suit the quotation, and explain the loss of εἰρήνην, for which a scribe might easily substitute a word like ἀρχήν. In the last clause παιδεία is probably a misprint for the παιδεία of other editors.

Ib. p. 450. ἐπὶ οὖν ἀκούσωμεν, τίμα τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἰσχύσεις, πλὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβοῦ ἄλλον, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ἁμαρτάνειν, ἐπεσθαι δὲ ταῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθείσαις ἐντολαῖς τιμὴν ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδέχομεθα. Perhaps the original may have been τιμὴν <εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰσχὴν> ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδέχομεθα, 'when we hear these words, we learn that to fear sin and follow the commands of God is an honouring of God and strength from God.' The recurring τοῦ θεοῦ would easily account for the loss of the intermediate words. [I.B. also proposes to omit ἦν.]

§ 40, p. 450. δέος δὲ ἐστὶ φόβος θείου. Probably we should read τοῦ θείου.

§ 42, p. 451. ἀγάπησις δὲ ἀπόδειξις παντελής. Potter is, I think, right in reading ἀπόδειξις.

§ 45, p. 453. κὰν τὸ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἦ τισιν ἐξησκημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ὡς χρηστέον καὶ ποιητέον καὶ συνεκπονητέον. Omit the last καὶ, 'though men may have practised doing rightly, still they should strive to join with this the knowledge of how they ought to use it and how they should act.'

§ 51, p. 456. [ὁ δὲ οἰησίσοφος ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας οὐχ ἄπτεται, for ἐκ τῶν read perhaps ἐκὼν, as below ἐκὼν μεθίσταται, comparing Plato's τῆς ἀληθείας ἄπτεσθαι. I.B.]

§ 52, p. 457. φέρε οὖν, εἰ ὁ Κύριος ἀλήθεια καὶ σοφία...δειχθεῖν ὅτι τῷ ὄντι γνωστικός ὁ τοῦτον ἐγνωκός. Dindorf inserts ἂν after δειχθεῖν. I think the commencing words φέρε οὖν suggest a question, and should rather insert ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν before δειχθεῖν.

§ 53, p. 457. πιστεύομεν δὲ τὰ παρωχηκότα γεγονέναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσσεσθαι, ἀγαπῶμεν τε αὐτῶς ἔχειν τὰ παρωχηκότα πιστεῖ πεπεισ-

μένοι, τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίδι ἀπεκδεχόμενοι. Put a comma after αὐτ, and insert δὲ before μέλλοντα.

§ 55, p. 458. ἡ τε ἀπιστία ἀποστάσις οὐσα τῆς πίστεως δυνατὴν δείκνυσιν τὴν συγκατάθεσιν τε καὶ πίστιν· ἀνυπαρξία γὰρ στέρησις οὐκ ἂν λεχθείη. Lowth's emendation ἀπόστασις is confirmed by Sext. Emp. P.H. i. 192 ἡ οὖν ἀφασία ἀπόστασις ἐστὶ τῆς κοινῶς λεγομένης φάσεως. For ἀνυπαρξία read ἀνυπαρξίας, 'we could not speak of a privation of a non-entity.' (Hence, ἀπιστία being a privative, πίστις must be an entity.)

§ 56, p. 459. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ μόνῃ μετανοίᾳ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὕτη (sc. ἄφεσις) ἂν εἴη τῶν προὑπαρξάντων κατὰ τὸν ἔθνικόν καὶ πρῶτον βίον. This is a reminiscence of Herm. Mand. 4, 3, 1, ἐτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν τῶν προτέρων. For ἁμαρτιῶν read ἁμαρτημάτων to agree with προὑπαρξάντων.

Ib. (The Lord foresaw) ὡς ζηλώσας (ὁ διάβολος) ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον προστρίψηται τίνας αἰτίας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. For προστρίψηται read προστρίβεται.

§ 59, p. 460. After quoting Ps. cxxviii. 1 μακάριοι γὰρ πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον, Clement continues ὁρᾷς τὸν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐμφερῆ μακαρισμόν; and then gives another quotation on a different subject from Ps. xlix. Read τὸν τῷ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, 'do you observe the blessing similar to that in the Gospel?'

§ 59, p. 460. πάθος δὲ...ὁρμὴ ἐκφερομένη καὶ ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ. παρὰ φύσιν οὖν κινήσις ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν πρὸς λόγον ἀπειθειαν τὰ πάθη, ἡ δ' ἀπόστασις καὶ ἔκστασις καὶ ἀπίθεια ἐφ' ἡμῖν... διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐκούσια κρίνεται. [αὐτὰ καθ' ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παθῶν εἰ τις ἐπεξίει, ἀλόγους ὀρέξεις εὗροι ἂν αὐτά.] τὸ γοῦν ἀκούσιον οὐ κρίνεται. Transfer the sentence in brackets and place it after λόγῳ at the end of the first sentence. For τὰ ἐκούσια read ὡς ἐκούσια.

§ 61, p. 461. τὴν Λὼτ γυναικα...στήσας εἰς τὸ μὴ πρόσω χωρεῖν, οὐ μωρὰν καὶ ἄπρακτον εἰκόνα, ἀρτῶσαι δὲ καὶ στῦψαι τὸν πνευματικῶς διαρᾶν δυνάμενον. For ἀρτῶσαι δὲ read <οἷαν δὲ> ἀρτῶσαι.

§ 62, p. 462. τὸ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν κρίνεται ὅ, τι χρὴ ποιεῖν συνίσταται, ἡ τῷ ἀδυνατεῖν ποιεῖν. For τῷ read τοῦ.

§ 64, p. 463. ἀτύχημα δὲ νοῦ παράλογός ἐστιν ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἐκούσιος ἀδικία, ἀδικία δὲ ἐκούσιος κακία. ἐστὶν οὖν ἡ μὲν ἁμαρτία ἐμὸν ἐκούσιον...ἀτυχία δὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλον εἰς ἐμὲ πράξις ἀκούσιος, ἡ δὲ ἀδικία μόνῃ εὐρίσκεται ἐκούσιος εἴτε ἐμὴ εἴτε ἄλλου. Dindorf makes no mention of Potter's

emendations οὖν for νοῦ and ἀκούσιον for ἐκούσιον, though they are required by the context, as well as by the parallel passage in Arist. *Eth.* v. 8, τριῶν δὲ οὐσῶν βλαβῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις τὰ μὲν μετ' ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτήματά ἐστιν... ὅταν μὲν οὖν παραλόγως ἢ βλάβῃ γένηται ἀτύχημα, ὅταν δὲ μὴ παραλόγως, ἀνεὺ δὲ κακίας, ἀμάρτημα· ἀμαρτάνει γὰρ ὅταν ἢ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τῆς αἰτίας, ἀτυχεῖ δ' ὅταν ἐξῶθεν. ὅταν δὲ εἰδῶς μὲν, μὴ προβουλευσας δὲ, ἀδίκημα, οἷον ὅσα τε διὰ θυμὸν... οὐ μέντοι πω ἀδικοὶ διὰ ταῦτα... ὅταν δ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀδικος.

§ 68, p. 465. καθέδρα δὲ λοιμῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια εἴη ἄν. ὅπερ καὶ μάλλον ἢ ἐξακολουθήσας ταῖς ποιηραῖς καὶ ταῖς λυμαντικαῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ ἢ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν κοινωνία. Put a comma after εἴη ἄν and read οὐπὲρ for ὅπερ.

*Ib.* δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τριῶν ἀποδοχῇν ἀμαρτίας τρόπων διδάσκειν ὁ νομοθέτης, τῶν μὲν ἐν λόγῳ διὰ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἀναδύνων... τῶν δὲ ἐν ἔργῳ διὰ τῶν ἀρπακτικῶν καὶ σαρκοβόρων ὀρνέων, χοῖρος βορβόρῳ ἡδεταὶ καὶ κόπρῳ· καὶ χρὴ μὴδὲ τὴν συνειδήσιν ἔχειν μεμολυσμένην. C. is giving an allegorical explanation of the Mosaic prohibition of certain meats. Thus the mute fish symbolizes abstinence from sins of the tongue. I think we should read ἀποχὴν for ἀποδοχὴν. We meet with a similar phrase (ἀμαρτημάτων ἀποχή, κακῶν πράξεων ἀποχή) in pp. 556, 576, 623, 625, &c. In p. 566 ἀποχὴς κακῶν was restored by Sylburg out of the same corruption ἀποδοχὴς κ. The chief corruption here, however, concerns the word χοῖρος. Sins of speech and of act have been mentioned, and it would seem that the pig is to symbolize sins of thought (συνειδήσις). Perhaps we should read <τῶν δὲ ἐν καρδίᾳ τύπος ὁ> and add ὅς after χοῖρος. [H.J. reads <τῶν δὲ ἐν νῷ διὰ χοίρου ὅς>.]

§ 77, p. 469 *ini.* ἐνταῦθα τὴν γνώσιν πολυπραγμονεῖ. This clause is out of place where it stands, and is probably, as Potter suggested, a marginal note on the preceding paragraph.

*Ib.* ἀρετὸν δὲ εἶν γενόμεθα ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἴσον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπερξεν τὸ θέσει τῷ φύσει), τὸ δὲ αὐτίους γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων θεωρίαν ἐγνωκέναι καὶ νουὺς προσηγορεῖσθαι. Sylburg's emendation τῷ δὲ αὐτίους for τὸ δ.α. seems to me required for the construction.

§ 78, p. 469. προφανεῖς μὲν οὖν καὶ πᾶσαι ἄλλαι ἀρεταὶ αἱ παρὰ τῷ Μωυσεῖ ἀναγεγραμμέναι ἀρχὴν Ἑλλήσι παντός τοῦ ἡθικοῦ τύπου παρασχόμεναι. Insert αἱ after πᾶσαι and put commas after ἀρεταὶ and ἀναγεγραμμέναι.

§ 84, p. 472. γίνεσθε οὖν θεοδιδάκτοι ἐκζητοῦντες τί ζητεῖ ὁ Κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἵνα εὐρητε

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως τοὺς τοῦτων ἐπιβούλους. ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης γνωστικῶς προσηγορεῖσεν. Dindorf has followed Heinsius in reading εὑρητε for MS. εὔρηται. The sentence γίνεσθε—κρίσεως is taken from Barnabas 21, 6, where however καὶ ποιεῖτε is interposed between ὑμῶν and ἵνα, and εὑρεθῆτε stands for εὔρηται. Shortly after occur the words σώζεσθε ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης. It is a question how we are to understand, and in what connexion we should read the remaining words of the text, τοὺς τοῦτων ἐπιβούλους. Potter with most annotators joins them to the following clause, which certainly is rather abrupt by itself. If ἐπιβούλους has its usual meaning it makes no sense with either clause. I am disposed to read ἐπιβόλους (usually spelt ἐπιβόλους in the MS. of Clement), placing the full stop after κρίσεως, as in Barnabas, and translating 'those who have attained these things (viz. to be taught of God) he styles children of love and peace.' Clement quotes so loosely from memory, that we are perhaps not justified in restoring the original εὑρεθῆτε, but I cannot see the force of εὔρητε 'searching what the Lord seeks from you, that ye may find it in the Day of Judgment.' Why not keep εὔρηται 'in order that he may find it (i.e. what he seeks in you) in the Day of Judgment'?

§ 86, p. 474. Speaking of the merciful character of the Mosaic law, Clement instances the law of Jubilee, προσποτιδούς ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον... τοὺς τε πενία μακρὰ ὑποσχόντας δίκην μὴ διὰ βίου κολαζομένους ἐλεῶν. Dindorf follows Potter in reading ἐλεῶν for ἐλών, but in that case the preceding μὴ should be omitted. It was probably inserted to make some sense when ἐλεῶν was changed to ἐλών. Otherwise we might conjecture μὴ κολάζεσθαι θέλων. But ἐλεῶν agrees best with what follows.

A little above for ἡ γὰρ οὐχὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους ἀργὴν ἀνίστασθαι τὴν χώραν προστάττει should we not read ἡ γάρ; οὐχὶ κ.τ.λ.?

§ 87, p. 474. ἔχει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλας ἐκδοσεις τὰ προειρημένα... ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέλεκται. Read perhaps ἐκδοχὰς 'interpretations' and λεκτέας.

§ 88, p. 475. πρόσταγμα Κυρίου πηγὴ ζωῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖ ἐκκλίνειν ἐκ παγίδος θανάτου, τί δέ; Insert δὲ after ποιεῖ as in the original (Prov. xiv. 27), and put a full stop after θάνατον.

*Ib.* [οὔτε γὰρ ἐφ' ὕβρει τὰς συνουσίας οὐδὲ μὴν διὰ μισθαρνίας ὡς ἐταίρας, ἀλλ' ἡ διὰ μόνον τῶν τέκνων τὴν γένεσιν γίνεσθαι, read ἐταιρικάς, ἀλλά. I.B.]

§ 89, p. 475. τῷ ἐρῶντι κυρίῳ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου γεγόνῃ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει χαρίζεσθαι τῇ ἡδονῇ. There is no place here for γεγόνῃ, till the true reading is restored by writing the first three words with the usual abbreviations—τῷ ἐρῶντι (τῷ ἐρωτικῷ). Similarly in the corrupt (iv. § 167, p. 639) αἱ ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις ὡς ἀμείνους τῷ κρείττονι τῷ πνεύματι κυρίῳ προσάπτονται, αἱ δὲ φιλήδονοι...τῷ ἡττονι τῷ ἁμαρτητικῷ, the original is restored by reading κυρίῳ contracted (κῷ), τῷ πνευματικῷ corresponding to τῷ ἁμαρτητικῷ.

§ 90, p. 476. τί δὲ καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦντα συνετικονφίζειν...προστάσσει; πόρρωθεν διδάσκων ἡμᾶς...ἐπιχειρεκακίαν μὴ ἀσπάζεσθαι. If we keep τί δὲ, we should put the interrogative after it, and read what follows as a categorical sentence, placing a comma after προστάσσει, but I prefer Sylburg's reading ἐτι δέ.

1b. κἂν τὸν ἐξ ἔθους ἐχθρὸν ὑπολάβῃς, παραλογιζόμενον δὲ τοῦτον ἀλόγως...καταλάβῃς, ἐπιστρέφει αὐτόν. For τὸν read τινα.

§ 91, p. 476. τοῖς τε ἐκ δανείων καταδουλωθεῖσιν ἐκεχειρίαν τὴν εἰς πᾶν δίδωσιν ἐνιαυτῷ ἐβδόμῳ. Dindorf reads τὴν with Potter for τῆς, which is, I think, merely a dittographia of εἰς. The article is also omitted in Philo, whom Clement here follows.

§ 92, p. 477. τῶν ἀλόγων τὰ ἔκγονα διεξεύγυσθαι τῆς τεκούσης πρὸ τῆς γαλακτονοχίας ἀπαγορεύει. This is borrowed from Philo's χάρισαι τῇ μητρὶ τὸ ἐγγονον ἐπὶ γοῦν τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας γαλακτοτροφῆσαι. The only meaning of γαλακτονοχία recognized in L. and S. is 'sucking of milk,' which is evidently unsuitable both here and in iii. 72, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τεχθέντος γαλακτονοχίαν. Can it mean 'withholding of milk,' 'weaning,' or should we read ἀπογαλάκτισιν instead?

§ 94, p. 478. οὐδὲν ἔχοντας αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι μὴ το ἄλλογενές, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον, μήτε κακίᾳ μήτε ἀπὸ κακίας ὀρμώμενον. For κακίᾳ read κακία with Potter, as in Philo τὸ ἄλλογενές, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον ὅσα γὰρ μήτε κακία μήτε ἀπὸ κακίων ἐξω παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἵσταται.

§ 96, p. 479. εἴη δ' ἂν οὗτος ὁ τῆς γεωργίας τύπος διδασκαλίας τρόπος. Transfer τύπος and τρόπος. A certain method of horticulture supplies a model for the teacher.

§ 99, p. 481. (Of Jacob) ἐκ τε αὐτοῦ διδύμων γενομένων ὁ νεώτερος κληρονομεῖ...καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς λαμβάνει. Should we read ἐπενχάς for εὐχάς, as we find in Jerem. xx. 40 ἐπενκτή opposed to ἐπικατάρατος?

§ 101, p. 482. οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ φύσει ζῆν τέλος ἐδογματίσαν, τὸν θεὸν εἰς φύσιν

μετονομάσαντες εὐπρεπῶς, ἐπειδὴ ἡ φύσις καὶ εἰς φυτὰ...καὶ εἰς λίθους διατείνει. Should we not read οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς here? The fact that the term φύσις is used of lifeless things is surely an argument that the Stoic maxim 'follow nature' is a poor version of the Platonic and Christian maxim 'follow God.'

§ 103, p. 484. τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἱστορούμενα. Read perhaps ἐπὶ <τῶν περὶ> τὸν Ἀνανίαν. [H.J. has the brilliant emendation ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀνανίων (i.e. Daniel and his three friends).]

§ 104, p. 484. τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος περιφέρειον ἔπειτα Κυρίῳ μετ' ἰχνιον ὥστε θεὸς ἅγιος ἁγίων γενομένος. The hyperbole is too strong even for Clement. Can he have written ὥστε σὺν θεῷ ἐν ἁγίοις ἁγίων γενομένος? Just before he had described the Christian as σύνκοικος ὦν τῷ Κυρίῳ, δαριστής τε καὶ συνένσιος κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα. [H.J. reminds me that we have here a Homeric phrase borrowed from the *Phaedrus*, p. 266 τοῦτον διώκω κατόπισθε μετ' ἰχνιον ὥστε θεοῖο, which would be spoilt by mutilation. Keeping θεοῖο we might continue ὥς ἐν ἁγίοις ἁγίων or perhaps ὡς ἅγιος ἁγίως, as in p. 633.]

§ 109, p. 486. ἀνδρὸς δὴ χρεῖα ὅστις θανάμιαστος καὶ ἀσυνγνώτως τοῖς πράγμασι χρεῖσται ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πάθη ὀρμᾶται. Read ἀθανάμιαστος, comparing M. Anton. i. 15 τὸ ἀθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνέκπληκτον. [The same correction is made by Bywater.] The sentence which follows, ἵνα γὰρ ἀδιαφόροις τοῖς διαφόροις χρῆσθαι, πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ διαφοράς ἅτε προκεκακωμένοις ἀσθενεῖα πολλῇ καὶ προδιαστροφῇ, does not seem quite right even with Bywater's correction of ἀδιαφόροις for διαφόροις. What is needed in order to make one whose nature is distorted by natural frailty and bad bringing up view things indifferent with an indifferent eye, is reformatory discipline, ἀσκησις or θεραπεία, not διαφορά, which merely crept in from the preceding line.

§ 119, p. 491. εἰ γοῦν ταύτης δίχα πιεῖν οἶόν τε ἦν ἢ τροφῆς προσίεσθαι. For τροφῆς read τροφήν.

§ 120, p. 492. διό μοι δοκεῖ θεείως ὁ νόμος ἀναγκαῖως τὸν φόβον ἐπαρτᾶν. Sylburg reads ὁ θεῖος. The short and long vowels are constantly confused, and the order of ὁ θεῖος νόμος would be changed without hesitation. Just below in διὰ τῆς ἀπαύστου καὶ ἀναπαυδῆτου πρὸς τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἡμῶν ἀντιμαχήσεως, some word like ἐφόδους or προσβολάς is required before ἀντιμαχήσεως.

§ 123, p. 493. ὅταν ὑπέρτονον ᾄδων λέγηται, ὥστε καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τινος, ἵνα μὴ τινος τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν ἔκτονον καὶ ἀπόχρονον ᾄσωσιν,

οὕτως ἀκούω, οὐχ ὡς ὑπέρτονον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν θεῖον ζυγὸν τοῦτους ὑπέρτονον. Insert ἀπλῶς before ἀλλὰ, translating 'when the law is said to be too high pitched, as also the Lord (is said to have been) with reference to certain persons, in order to prevent some of his followers from being altogether out of tune, I understand it in this way, not as absolutely too high pitched, but as too high for those who will not accept the divine yoke.'

§ 125, p. 494. (Zeno said he would rather see a single Indian roasted than hear all the arguments about the endurance of pain) ἡμῖν δὲ ἀφθονοῖ μαρτύρων πηγαὶ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν θεωροῦνται παροπτωμένων, ἀνασχυνδυνομένων κ.τ.λ. The metaphor of πηγαὶ is too violent even for Clement. Read σφαγαί.

§ 126, p. 495. χρὴ τοίνυν συνασκεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς εὐλάβειαν τῶν ἱποπιπτόντων τοῖς πάθεσι, φυγαδεύοντας...καὶ τὴν τρυφήν καὶ τὰ εἰς τρυφήν πάθη ἄλλοις εἶναι ἄθλον βαρὺ, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν. Insert after πάθη <ὧν ἡ εὐλάβεια δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν> ἄλλοις.

§ 126, p. 495. γίνεται δὲ ἡ ἀσκησις...οὐ μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὕγιεια ἀοκνὴ πόνων, ἀκορή τροφῆς. Read with Potter ὕγιεια.

§ 127, p. 495. τῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀρχομένων τούτους τε Κυρηναίους εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον...τὴν ἡδονήν. This is a clause in *oratio obliqua* set in the middle of *oratio recta*. Probably some such verb as ἀκούομεν has dropped out after ἀρχομένων.

§ 128, p. 496. ἔνεκα γὰρ ἡδονῆς παρὰ ἐλθοῖσα ἡ ἀρετὴ ἡδονὴν ἐνεποίησε. Read παρὲλθοῖσα. In the last sentence of the same section οὐτ' οὐδ' ὁ πένθος οὐθ' ὁ ἀδοξος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ ἐπίνοστος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰκίτης ἦ τις κατ' αὐτούς. There seems no reason for the former ἀλλ' οὐδ'. Possibly it has replaced an original οὐθ'.

§ 129, p. 497. Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸ ὁμολογούμενως τῇ φύσει ζῆν ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν, ὃ ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ κείσθαι ὑπελάμβανεν. Dindorf should have adopted Menage's emendation ἡ τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν, proved from Diog. Laert. vii. 28, where the τέλος of certain Stoics is said to be τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ.

Ib. Ἀρχέδημος τε αὐτῶς ἐξηγείτο εἶναι τὸ

τέλος ἐκλεγόμενος τὰ κατὰ φύσιν μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα, οὐχ οἷόν τε ὄντα ὑπερβαίνειν. According to Stobaeus (*Ecl. Eth.* 6, p. 134) Antipater defined the τέλος as ζῆν ἐκλεγόμενος τὰ κατὰ φύσιν. This suggests the reading ζῆν ἐκλεγόμενος for ἐκλεγόμενος, and we should probably insert αὐτὸ after κυριώτατα, and change ὄντα into εἶναι. Just below in τί δ' ἡ σοὶ Ἀρίστονα καταλέγοι' ἂν; τέλος οὗτος εἶναι τὴν ἀδιαφορίαν ἔφη, τὸ δὲ ἀδιαφορὸν ἀπλῶς ἀδιαφορὸν ἀπολείπει. Read τί δέ, and ἀόριστον for the second ἀδιαφορὸν.

Ib. Κριτόλαος δὲ...τελειότῃτα ἔλεγει κατὰ φύσιν εὐροσύντος βίου, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν γενῶν συμπληρουμένην προγονικὴν τελειότητα μνηνύει. This sentence is explained by § 139, p. 504, τέλειος ὁ πεποιθὴς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὅμοιον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπειδὴν κἀκείνους τὸ αὐτὸ πεποιηκότα ἐπιδῇ. The only change which seems to me required is γενῶν for γενῶν; there is an hereditary completeness where prosperity continues through three generations.

§ 137, p. 502. γάμος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ σύνοδος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ πρώτη κατὰ νόμον ἐπὶ γνησίων τέκνων σπορά. As C. defends second marriages against the Encratites (cf. iii. § 82, p. 548), perhaps we should read with F. Jacobs, reported by Klotz, ἐρωτικὴ for ἡ πρώτη, or omit the latter altogether as an ascetic comment.

Ib. ζητοῦμεν δὲ εἰ γαμήτειον, ὅπερ τῶν κατὰ ἡ πρός τί πως ἔχειν ὠνομασμένων ἐστίν. The MS. has κατὰ πρός, the latter being probably a correction of the former. Omit therefore κατὰ ἡ.

§ 143, p. 506. τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων σύνοδον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συζυγίας συνάδουσαν τῇ φύσει μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν ὁμολογούμενον θορὸν θορόν. For this *verbum nihili* read the Aristotelian phrase θοροῦ καιρὸν, which agrees with the following clause τὰ γοῖν ἕνα αὐτῶν ὧς κελεύεται καιρῷ εὐθὺς ἀπαλλάττεται. [H.J. is certainly right in joining the second θορόν to the following τὰ, and perhaps in reading ὅρον for the former θορόν. The words will then run, κατὰ τὸν ὁμολογούμενον ὅρον. θορόντα γοῖν ἕνα κ.τ.λ.] The words which follow from τοῖς τραγωδοποιοῖς δὲ ἡ Πολυξένη τοῖς συμφορὰ seem to me misplaced. They would come better in the middle of the second sentence of § 145 beginning θεοφιλεῖς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι.

J. B. MAYOR.



COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. OF MANILIUS (M. 31 BIBL. NAZION.)  
WITH THE TEXT OF JACOB, BERLIN, 1846.

(Continued from page 141.)

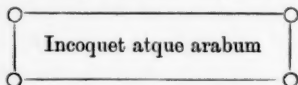
Book V.

1 finis sed iter signisque relatis 4 strux-  
isset 5 percurreret ignes 6 Saturni  
8 libet 9 uectantur 10 consc. curros  
11 contingerim 12 magni pars maxima  
caeli 13 Et ratis heorum (*sic*) 14 er-  
rantis 15 Et biferum cecum squamis  
adque 16 diuitis detauri<sup>1</sup> 20 Enioch-  
usque 23 Andromedanque negans 24  
uolat 25 et ippiter 27 sunt c. canendā  
29 Et quod adebisse xastris par quemque r.  
30 Ab stellis 33 immunis 34 Colcludis  
et magicas artes qui uisere Colchon 35  
Mediam 36 pupim celi nauiget arto 37  
ducat 39 Quattuor hora 40 Illis  
41 immobilis 42 Mutauit uentis (*sic*)  
43 nitumque uolet transnare 44 Clauibus  
45 tiphum s. trementem 46 portur 47  
solutum 48 nomine heundis 49 Per  
sidera xer xenus facietque 50 Vt ra  
Syracensis 52 suspensus ū utrunque 56  
arcessitur *obis* (*sic*) 57 Sed deus mala  
terris 59 Quod trahentem 60  
Et mentita 61 Sollertis 63 Inde lassato  
corde uidere 64 totaque habitauit in  
orbe 66 communis 70 auitis 71  
sed'ium 72 retentas 73 quattuor  
74 Praenalidis uires et torto stringere guiro  
76 ð (uncial ð partially obscured) deū  
laxato 77 Exagiare *m. pr.*: then in lighter  
ink a small ' above the line between gi a  
80 oblicum 81 Obsantemque 83 acuta  
86 Quadripedum 87 Perquo labite  
quos ludet 89 Nunc licet per  
cursum 90 Quidquid 91 imitatus  
in urbe 92 inpositis 94 Atque mouisse  
de fulmine fingit 95 Sinsit et  
inm. 97 bellerophontem 98 Inp.  
101 conanda 102 partis artes 103  
heduli 104 promittere aer 105 necrede  
106 signis trictosque incoda catonis 107  
Abruptumque 108 peculeis 109 las-  
ciu'aque 111 Desidant inaniore iu-  
uentae 113 Inpellit 114 Et tumimum  
(I think: but possibly minimum) quia  
crimine uictum 118 artes 119 Lani-  
geri surgent (<sup>u</sup> coeual with e) nati  
122 grecosque tenentis 125 Immundos-  
que 126 Et fidunt uerciadu genueres sy-  
boetem 127 hyades 128 orbis 131

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps for *sed ditis et auri*.

Egelido quae 133 Fundamenta  
inpleuit 135 fidae creatur  
136 Suspensas trepitus 137 ingeniestui-  
sendi 138 per noctis que rutarbȝta (the  
letter over t seems to be u, but may be n)  
140 Taurus inaduersos conpellitur 141  
luce sorores 142 Pleidas 143 Educunt  
baechi sequacis 145 mordacis 146  
cultus frocitisque decorde 148 Aut undis  
peruocare 149 adp. 150 menbra 151  
sterilisque optare 152 nec insunt tec-  
mina 153 Sed specie fictaeque 154  
Natuare adque 155 Lactant 156  
cupient et amere uideri 157 uero om.  
160 uolo erisque 166 pinsare fulto  
167 cito sictuos 168 mebra 169 uagus  
170 teneant sibique ipsa reludat 171  
Et uelut edictos iueat 172 Inuigilat  
summis 175 aspir. 176 flammis habenti-  
bus 179 Atque atalanteos conatur 180  
Et calidonea 181 et quam potuisse uidere  
182 Quamque erat tactaeon s. mutandus  
185 Rectibus montes 186 Mendacis-  
que 187 Curentisque cōpede 190  
caeco missa 191 litorȝe (*sic*) is habetis  
192 precis inbella cessere 194 amnis 195  
Luxuria qua 196 gilam pascit 197  
ad procion 198 pars emergit 200  
tribuit sagacis 201 genus aproam  
203 astilia 204 quicūque 206 surget  
nemeus 207 Exoriturque canis  
flammas 208 rapet 209 Qua  
mouentē 210 Dimicat 212 nemoris  
sanguis 213 querunt 217 uno ceu sunt  
in flumine 218 ponta per proximas extulit  
horas 219 Nascentem quam nec  
restrinxerit 220 fingit 221 fletus  
ódiumque (*sic*) 222 Procurrunt 223  
condita causis 224 rabit 225 relin-  
quit 227 Baechus 228 rupesque 229  
Et spumantis adque 230 Et fundunt  
quae corpore flāma 231 Nec alis  
232 ueneretur 233 cōpredere 235  
Cetera caelatus ab 236 sequētur  
237 Inr. 238 Ecce baechae tuas 239  
Disponetue 240 fidentem in brachia ducit  
241 Teque sibi credit s. qui matre resectum  
242 Adiungit segentemque 243 et  
244 parte 245 e miseris fouetur  
247 terra inanima 249 umor 250  
craterū moris 251 cum ter quinque fe-  
runtur 253 Cara ariadnae 254 Et

mollis tribuent artes 255 Nam qua 257  
 Pallentes hiac hinchos 258 Iliaque  
 260 Caeruleumque foliis uiridemue in ger-  
 mine collem 261 Consereret 262 nectit  
 locauit 263, 4 Et fingetque suum  
 sidus similesque inmutua pressos (*sic*) This  
 line ends fol. 47<sup>b</sup>. There is no indication of  
 anything wrong, but half an inch below is



265 mulcebit 266 medios 267 sue-  
 orum 268 Mundiciae cultusque artesque  
 decori 271 Ad cum 272 praesens  
 uallantis 274 in faenus 276 atque  
 279 orbi 280 iuris actis 282 fac-  
 turos liti 283 pendentis orbes 284  
 Aetorrere 285 Etque uariasque 286  
 habitatur 287 Frugibus destructos<sup>1</sup>  
 componitur 290 tenacis 292 pars  
 triclina templis (et *om.*) 295 lacertis  
 296 Et calamum ueruis glebas et mitere  
 uirgis 299 Quod tocus d. teycero 300  
 Tene philoctetae cui mallum 300 Hectoris  
 ille facsar cutelumque fugauit 301 Mit-  
 tebatque suos ignes et 302 Hic orta in  
 pharetro 307 sonumque animamque ui-  
 uentem 308 aprosternere 311 Tunc  
 iterum nato et fatum per somnia raptem  
 312 Ad cum inp. 313 quaerit 315  
 Sollertis agittaque pectore 316 Et  
 fingit 319 curam digito quae iuuerit 320  
 Defuerit bonis 321 fraudaret 322 Cog-  
 nitor est urbis amoris 323 ponetque  
 forum suadetque lyaco 324 Nobilis in-  
 saltus et staenae mollior arte 325 Nunc  
 surgent elirate studinise natat 326 tantum  
 post fata sonantis 327 somnumque ferens  
 oegrius 328 tensus addit-adidit (*sic*)  
 330 uoces dotis horeaeque sonantis 331  
 Garrulaque modulos 331 quodcumque  
 332 Mulorbitque baechum 337 can-  
 tauit adiuris 338 Hic distant elyra cum  
 p. u. sexta 339 Chaelarum surgent quae  
 c. ducit ad a. 340 Quid regione pauis partis  
 341 thuris 343 dextra 344 Iupiter  
 345 Quod ortus 347 uenerantis  
 uoces 348 Pene possint<sup>2</sup>  
 349 Quattuor adp. 350 more 351 agitauit  
 onus mixtasque iugabit 352 quadripedes  
 aut currus 353 Aut onerauit 354  
 medias artes ad menbra 355 mutarunt  
 357 non aegros corpus 358 Hunc  
 arquit. par quinta 359 nantis  
 361 opus et sancta seruit 362 Reg-  
 nante sub regno suo 363, 4 in M follow

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *ac structo*.

<sup>2</sup> *possint* seems to be right, not *possunt*.

374 365 Arquit. 366 decima (*not*  
 decuma) 367 uttibi solore uolatalis 370  
 Alitumque genus studium 371 fluant 372  
 modios pensare 373 nitidos clamare suis  
 374 ducere lina 363 Tutelamque gerant p.  
 domibusue r. 364 Praepositis limine  
 376 Qua modo 377 Fasidos et ducis  
 378 nouo effecta est 380 nouasque in  
 cōmetcia ducit 381 natura elege necata  
 382 Ipse deum cyncus condit 385 ueneris  
 gaudent et r. caecos 386 totamue per  
 orbem 387 Qui gestant acaeis 388  
 constitit pascere 389 olo taureus 390  
 Et qui<sup>3</sup> tenens 393 Accipiunt senibusque  
 suis populoque fluentis 394 iungent inpone  
 395 Ac pisces 397 Quisquis erit 398  
 ripisue circum ferret 401 Protrahet  
 immersus 403 Inm. exquiritur 404  
 tanta 405 rapidumque notori 406  
 locuplebs 407 forte 409 Iustititor  
 aequore ac 413 latencia 414 inmitis  
 415 uero fauet 416 turgia pectora tollat  
 418 Erigit et iquamam stillis imitantibus  
 est sic 419 pelagoque creatur 422 Et  
 senibus uires sumet fluctumque f. 424  
 brachiat actus 425 Et plausa resonabit  
 aqua nunc aequore mersas 425<sup>a</sup> Et senibus  
 uireso nabit aqua nunc aequore mersas  
 426 Dicucet furtiuo renus 427 pas-  
 sumque notauit 428 reddit 429 innotat  
 431 Pendebitque pretotum sine remigere  
 uotum est 433 qui mergunt 436 una  
 sauidi harenas 437 Pars ex d.  
 studium sociatur utrumque 438 Ingeinis  
 atque imo 439 Adnumeros etiam ulla  
 440 ualidos aliunt 441 que *om.* 442  
 Hunc 443 Membraue orbesque  
 flagrantis 445 Delfinamque suos p.  
 i. natanta motus 446 uiduat pinus  
 inatre 447 Ad 448 acta 449  
 Adque uocancia 450 cepheus mentis  
 451 seuerare 452 Frontis ac u. cōp.  
 pondere mentis 453 Pascentur  
 exemplare uoluet 455 Totorisque  
 patruiae 456 Coponent reueros 457  
 praetextae 459 tragica<sup>4</sup> 460 quam-  
 quam stilus cruentis 461 haec  
 462 auri luxum m. sepulchra 463 Ruct-  
 antemque patrem natos 464 theuana  
 iuuauit 465 iustatre parentem 466  
 Queretune deae 467 uestis flammis illinc  
 pro munerae 468 uotos 469 aliae  
 in carmina ducant 470 cefeus  
 inactis 472 componit lactis 473 Ar-  
 dentis iuuenis 474 senos 476 orbe  
 lingue sub flore 477 uita  
 charusque 479 Hesteruis tamen actus

<sup>3</sup> Conceivably for *excoitenens* or *exquitenens*, 'snake-  
 holder' (*exetra*).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps for *tragic*.

- 480 tacito adf. 482 reddit 483  
 magnus (?) haeruas aget scevisque<sup>1</sup> togatus  
 485 Aequabit (que om.) 486 cad (entem  
 om.) 487 ¶ partes inastra 488 Rotantis  
 489 externis circumuola talis 490 alis  
 494 Cumque hominum dederit frages 495  
 pace ac bello 497 Precipitant  
 cōtenere 502 Inmissosque flumina  
 503 magister 504 Ingentisque urbi-  
 bus usus 505 Ad 506 Aequare 507  
 Arfices 508 possunt carnique acquirere  
 dotem 510 Hinc augusta then 515 Et mit  
 hridateos tropea then 511 Aurea 512  
 Gemmarumque ub radiantibus lucibus ignes  
 513 triumphis After 513 follows 543 Et  
 quod erat regnum then 514 Non eximeta  
 lues then 516 then 517 adque 518  
 dueci 524 eruere orbemque inuertere  
 prade 525 Inp. et glaebas gazas  
 527 numeravit 528 Perfuditque  
 stillancia litora 530 ramentis faciet  
 momenta 529 Protulit ut la-legeret (sic)  
 census spumantis in aurum 531 Et perlu-  
 centes cuperet prensare 532 emittit 533  
 Adquoque targenti glaebas 534 Erueat  
 riuos alienate liquavit 535 Aut 538  
 Andromedae 542 naufragia 543  
 follows 513 544 uesano 545 An-  
 drome dantenepos ut bella maneretatus  
 546 Hic chimenaes erat solaque in p. d.  
 547 uicti (sic) poena 548 Inductus-  
 que<sup>2</sup> sinus 549 uiua erapitur 550  
 Ae 556 custos est ipsa f. 557 umeris  
 558 scapulis 559 pinnis 561 Nec<sup>3</sup> tibi  
 aduetas  
 562 At tua 563 Adsitetasque (same ink)  
 desiit rupes 564 ab equore uultu  
 565 et undas 566 leuis flatur efobens  
 567 resonavit fleuile 571 Deriguit 572  
 manus · polium (sic) 573 inandromedae  
 577 ira 578 paretis 579 Promissum  
 uite 580 Additus 581 aut fuge-  
 bant aumine 581 Inp. 583 Scindentis  
 mouit 584 orē 585 uastis  
 urgent in. 586 fortus 587 Adque  
 moentes 588 Infex 589 tunc  
 quas f. in auro 593 quantis hic subuola-  
 talis 597 uersaque a gurgit effonte  
 598 innutens altis 599 semper  
 iaculata 601 ceci 602 seuit 604  
 Et flat 605 exstillat 606 puella 607  
 oblita (sic) 609 belua membrais 610  
 summasque iterum regnauit 612 noc  
 uirginis 613 Perfundit 615 puella  
 616 nubtutam 619 lentus 620 tempora
- 621 in. 622 tustus quostanta superbe  
 623 Postrata eiaceant miserorum in lumine  
 m. 624 Pernoctentque<sup>4</sup> 626 uidentis  
 627 secure 628 Supl. qui deneque  
 posse 629 Rendentem et scopulis 630  
 catenas 631 Interdum poenis noxia c.  
 seruet 632 Signauit terra elimen 635  
 Velocisque 636 Come 637 glomeravit  
 cyros 639 fidem 640 cursum  
 641 Quauis orbem 642 Nuncius  
 extremum uellebis 644 Quadrip. 645  
 humano sed qual' 647 Et gonas iugui  
 eulaides 649 creatur 650 orbem  
 651 consurgit in artis 652 first letter is  
 l not i. uindetque 654 extinctos  
 ponit u. fines 655 mediatu inter u. perdet  
 656 Et peneuaet pendens porulum suspendet  
 ab ipsa 657 extremi ceci 658  
 andromedam 659 bulnera .notos 661  
 furentem 662 in lacxo 663 claudent  
 nectant 664 meularum nomine  
 thinnol 667 sanguie potus 668 To-  
 tumquoque litore praede 669 sic  
 caedis in artus 670 Corpora  
 diser. 671 recentis 672 praetiosa suis  
 fluit (sic) 673 temporat 674 rages  
 678 turbaeque immobilis haeret 679  
 sagina-sagina (sic) 680 bachi complet  
 681 Vmorisque uolet socia per mutua dote  
 684 quoqueret ponti uires 685 disc-  
 descendant 685 Ad bellumque suo diductum  
 et aequare 687 negant tum demum sus-  
 cipit undas 688 Aepaet<sup>5</sup> ponto per  
 solem umore nitescit 690 sed nota  
 rigentes 691 Ingentes tumultos  
 pelagique uenerunt 692 Quod erit 694  
 Ad sua perpetuas 696 Numquam  
 orbem 697 Aut Cynosura minorticin  
 prima luce rusurgit 699 promittunt 700  
 fere 701 Hora ferent cōmergia  
 gentis 705 peruersaque munera duce  
 706 mouebit 707 int anto cunctis  
 708 tigrim 709 aliam festant 710 ami-  
 citias 711 pleidas dotauit 712 suffus  
 piropo 713 cecynos ura 716  
 per lubrica 717 omnem 718 E numero  
 summaque gradus qui iungitur angue 719  
 per minimos uno 721 Res-  
 pondent 723 uaga est illa eteris sulumina  
 724 igni 725 trans gresuis 726 Eff.  
 actenditur 727 Cernere "siminibus to-  
 tumque micare (solidis om.) In the right  
 margin a different and very distinct hand  
 has written luminibus solidis After 728  
 follows Spiritus aut solidis (sic) desunt  
 sicque haec d. concors then 729 Spacium  
 stellis suma 730 siccare (sic) 731  
 quod eant 732 quod de libia 734

<sup>1</sup> The letter after sce is doubtful; possibly it is n altered to v. Can the right reading be *scaeuasque togatos* = Roman Scaeuas, such as Lucan has immortalized in Book vi. of the *Pharsalia*?

<sup>2</sup> Possibly for *Indutusque* (accus. plural).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps for *haec* = *hae*.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. *Pernoctentque*.

<sup>5</sup> Probably for *Aer et poto*.

Vt per ingentis 735 et quæster 736  
 equitum 737 Vulgus 738 respondere  
 739 quæ orbem 742 gradus atque  
 omnia uicta priorē 743 C<sup>o</sup> uisi (seems  
 to mean Cuoi si = Quoi si) 745 fraglaret

Τελωσ

[I would again call the attention of students of Manilius to my article, 'The Madrid MS. of Manilius,' in *Hermathena* (Dublin) for 1893, pp. 261-287.]

ROBINSON ELLIS.

# CRITICAL NOTES ON THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO.

(Continued from p. 195.)

546 A. οὐ μόνον φντοῖς ἐγγείους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπιγείοις ζῴοις φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων γίνονται,..... γένους δὲ ὑμετέρου εὐγονίας τε καὶ ἀφορίας, καίπερ ὄντες σοφοί, οὓς ἡγεμόνας πόλεως ἐπαυδεύσασθε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον λογιμῷ μετ' αἰσθήσεως τεύζονται, ἀλλὰ πάρεσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ γεννήσουσι παῖδας ποτε οὐ δέον.

In spite of the φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία preceding I am inclined to think that we should read εὐφορίας for ἀφορίας, the occurrence of ἀφορία before accounting for the error. Τεύζονται naturally, though perhaps not necessarily, refers to the right time only, and πάρεσιν can only have the right time, not the wrong, for its subject. So in Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* vi. 10, 1142b 34 εὐσυνεσία seems right for ἀσυνεσία. Indeed the confusion of α and εν is a recognized cause of error in MSS. For τε καὶ coupling synonyms cf. 571 C λεγόμενον τε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον : 575 B ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ : &c. Perhaps ἐν should be added before φντοῖς or omitted before ἐπιγείους.

547 E. τῷ δὲ γε φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄγειν, αἵτε οὐκέτι κεκτημένη ἀπλοῦς τε καὶ ἀτενεῖς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνδρας ἀλλὰ μικτοὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ θυμοειδεῖς τε καὶ ἀπλουστέρους ἀποκλίνειν, τοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον μᾶλλον πεφυκότας ἢ πρὸς εἰρήνην, κ.τ.λ.

ἀπλουστέρους is manifestly wrong, but none of the suggested words is satisfactory. Stallbaum's πολλὰπλουστέρους, though *prima facie* plausible from its antithesis to the ἀπλοῦς preceding, is not really suitable. Madvig's ἀνουστέρους does not strike me as good. I had at first thought of ἀγρωτέρους, as ἄγριος is a word which Plato uses in this connexion (cf. 410 D : 411 E : 486 B) and we have τιμῶντες ἀγρίως ὑπὸ σκότου χρυσόν τε καὶ ἀργυρον a few lines below. I believe however that Plato really wrote ἀμουστέρους. In 548 E the individual character corresponding to the timocratic is called ὑπαμαυστέρων. Cf. λόγον μουσικῇ κεκρα-

μένον in 549 B and τῆς ἀληθινῆς Μούσης (or μουσικῆς) in 548 B. Add 546 D ἀμουσσότεροι γενήσονται ὑμῖν οἱ νέοι : 411 D μισόλογος... καὶ ἀμουσος.

548 D. Read probably πῶς τε γιγνώμενος for πῶς τε γενόμενος.

549 C. ὅταν πρῶτον μὲν τῆς μητρὸς ἀκοὴν ἀχθόμενης, οἱ οὐ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔστι, καὶ ἐλαττονμένης διὰ τὰτα ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξίν, ἔπειτα ὁρώσης μὴ σφόδρα περὶ χρήματα σπουδάζοντα μηδὲ μαχόμενον καὶ λοιδορούμενον ἰδεῖν τε ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ῥαθύμως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα φέροντα, καὶ ἐαυτῷ μὲν τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντα αἰεὶ αἰσθάνηται, ἐαυτὴν δὲ μήτε πάνν τιμῶντα μήτε ἀτιμάζοντα ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων ἀχθόμενης τε καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κ.τ.λ.

One is unwilling to believe that such a sentence proceeded from the careful pen of Plato. Αἰσθάνηται ought in grammar to be αἰσθανομένης. It is however unnecessary to have any such word at all, as ὁρώσης would govern προσέχοντα, and I suspect that αἰσθάνηται should be banished from the text altogether. If we retain it, we might possibly read καὶ <ἐὰν> ἐαυτῷ or καὶ ἐαυτῷ.

550 C. Ἐχομεν ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὴν τε δευτέραν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἀνδρα. Ἐχομεν, ἔφη.

Should not ἔχομεν...ἀνδρα be made interrogative?

551 C. πονηρὰν, ἣ δ' ὅς, τὴν ναυτιλίαν αὐτοὺς ναυτῶν εἶναι.

For ἣ δ' ὅς Ast suggests εἰκός, which I had thought of independently. It might be either substituted or added. Perhaps πονηρὰν ἀνάγκη, ἣ δ' ὅς.

551 D. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε καλόν, τὸ ἀδυνάτους εἶναι ἴσως πόλεμόν τινα πολεμεῖν. ἴσως (given by A and some other MSS., but not found in all) is feeble. Baiter after Badham σῶς : but we need an adverb. A very suitable word would be ἰσχυρῶς. Cf. Thuc. i. 69, 6 ἰσχυρῶς ἐγείσονται.



554 E. ὁμοιοητικῆς δὲ καὶ ἡρμοσμένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀληθὴς ἀρετῇ.

Should not τῆς be omitted?

555 C. For εἰσδανείζοντες, an odd word, read perhaps προσδανείζοντες. Ast after Steph. ἐκδανείζοντες.

556 A. οὔτε γ' ἐκείνη. Perhaps οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνη.

556 C. Οὕτω δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι ὅταν παραβάλλωσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἢ ἐν ὁδῶν πορείας ἢ ἐν ἄλλαις τισι κοινωνίαις, ἢ κατὰ θεωρίας ἢ κατὰ στρατείας, ἢ ξίμπλοι γυγνόμενοι ἢ ἐξοστρατιῶται, ἢ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κινδύνους ἀλλήλους θεώμενοι μηδαμῇ καταφρονῶνται οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων.

This sentence, which is as ungrammatical and—what is worse—as awkward as that in 549 C, D, may be put fairly straight by reading θεωμένων for θεώμενοι. For the genitive absolute with a subject to be supplied from the context, cf. 327 C and 616 A. Possibly we should also add ἔαν before ἐν αὐτοῖς or read καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Another simple remedy would be to insert καὶ before μηδαμῇ (ὅταν...παραβάλλωσι θεώμενοι...καὶ μηδαμῇ ταύτη καταφρονῶνται οἱ πένητες).

558 A. τί δέ; ἢ πρῶτης ἐνίων τῶν δικασθέντων οὐ κομψή; ἢ οὕτω εἶδες ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισθέντος (so Madvig and Baiter for καταψηφισθέντων) θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτῶν μενόντων τε καὶ ἀναστρεφόμενων ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ὡς οὔτε φροντίζοντος οὔτε ὀρώντος οὐδενὸς περινοστεῖ ὥσπερ ἥρωις; καὶ πολλοὺς γ', ἔφη.

In the first sentence περί should probably be inserted before or after ἐνίων (Steph. inserts κατά). Cf. Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία 22, χρώμενοι τῇ εἰωθῖνᾳ τοῦ δήμου πρῶτῃ, and many passages of Demosthenes, e.g. 19, 107. The second sentence suffers from four distinct faults: (1) εἶδες with the genitive absolute; (2) the change from plural to singular in περινοστεῖ; (3) the loose attachment of the last clause, ὡς apparently going with φροντίζοντος and ὀρώντος, which last word absolutely requires ὡς to qualify it; (4) the weakness of αὐτῶν and ἀνθρώπων. I believe that the words have got consistently corrupted and that we must read the accusative, either singular or plural, throughout: i.e. either οὕτω εἶδες ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισθέντος θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτοῦ μένοντά τε καὶ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἐν μέσῳ καὶ...περινοστοῦντα ὥσπερ ἥρωα, or the accusative plural throughout. I write αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν, as Schneider had already suggested, though he did not adopt it in his text.

558 E. In this and the following sections it would seem proper to make ἀναγκαῖος

consistently an adjective of either two or three terminations, and not to treat it sometimes as one, sometimes as the other.

559 B. ἢ μὲν γέ που τοῦ σίτου (ἐπιθυμία) κατ' ἀμφοτέρα ἀναγκαῖα, ἢ τε ὠφέλιμος ἢ τε παῖσαι ζῶντα οὐ δυνατὴ (οὐ is rightly added by C. F. Hermann. Cf. note on 488 E, where perhaps οὐ δυνατὸν is as likely as ἀδύνατον). On the model of Xen. *Anab.* 4, 1, 24 αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίους πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν, quoted by L. and S. s.v. δυνατός, I should suggest ζῶντι here. παῖσαι means of course the same as ἀποτρέψαι and ἀπαλλάξαι above.

561 E. Παντάσῃ, ἢ δ' ὅς, διεληλυθας βίον ἰσονομικοῦ τινὸς ἀνδρός. Οἶμαι δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ παντοδαπὸν τε καὶ πλείστων ἡθῶν μεστόν, καὶ τὸν καλὸν τε καὶ ποικίλον ὥσπερ ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδρα εἶναι. Thompson proposed τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ποικίλων; a more certain correction in my eyes is παντοδαποῦ τε καὶ πλείστων ἡθῶν μεστοῦ. Surely the words are parallel to ἰσονομικοῦ.

562 A. Φέρε δὲ, τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος, ὃ φίλε ἐταῖρε, γίγνεται; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας μεταβάλλει σχεδὸν δῆλον. Δῆλον. Ἄρ' οὖν τρόπον τινὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ τε ὀλιγαρχίας δημοκρατίας γίγνεται καὶ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τυραννίδος; τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος γίγνεται cannot give that meaning of 'how does tyranny come into being?' which the words following show to be required. Cf. 563 E αὐτῇ μὲν τοῖνυν...ἢ ἀρχή...ὅθεν ἡ τυραννὶς φύεται; 565 D τίς ἀρχὴ οὖν μεταβολῆς κ.τ.λ. Probably Plato wrote here simply τίνα τρόπον τυραννὶς...γίγνεται, as in the words almost immediately following (τρόπον τινὰ...γίγνεται). Τίς ἀρχὴ τυραννίδος γίγνεται would give the same sense. Or should γενέσεως be substituted for γίγνεται?

567 E. Κηφῆνας, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, νῆ τὸν κύνα, δοκεῖς αὖ τινὰς μοι λέγειν ξενικούς τε καὶ παντοδαπούς. Ἀληθῆ γὰρ, ἔφη, δοκῶ σοι. Τί δέ; αὐτόθεν ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐβελήσειεν; Πῶς; Τοὺς δούλους ἀφελόμενος τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθερώσας τῶν περὶ ἑαυτὸν δορυφόρων ποιήσασθαι (τί δε; αὐτόθεν Stallbaum with one MS., τίς δὲ αὐτόθεν A, τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθεν most MSS.).

The ellipse with ἐβελήσειεν on this reading is very harsh, for an infinitive and an accusative after the infinitive have both to be supplied. But τοὺς αὐτόθεν is unlikely, for then the question could hardly have been taken up with a bare πῶς. Is it possible that Plato wrote τί δέ; αὐτόθεν ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐβελήσειε πῶς τοὺς δούλους ἀφελόμενος κ.τ.λ.?

573 D. Γίγνεται μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὕτω καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ. Perhaps γίγνεται μὲν οὖν, or

οὐκοῦν γίγνεται μὲν, the οὐκοῦν having been lost after μὲν οὖν just preceding.

575 A. τυραννικῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ Ἔρως...ζῶν, ἅτε αὐτὸς ὢν μόναρχος, τὸν ἔχοντά τε αὐτὸν ὥσπερ πόλιν ἄξει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τόλμαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν θόρυβον θρέψει, τὸν μὲν ἔξωθεν εἰσεληλυθότα ἀπὸ κακῆς ὁμιλίας, τὸν δ' ἐνδοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεθέντα καὶ ἐλευθερωθέντα.

The τε after τὸν ἔχοντα is omitted by Stallbaum, nor do I see how Baiter could justify its retention, unless we are to suppose something omitted like τὸν ἔχοντά τε <καὶ τρέφοντά>. Cf. 575 D μητρίδα τε... καὶ πατρίδα ἔξει τε καὶ θρέψει. Again ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ is nonsense. I conjecture ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων ἑαυτῷ, or possibly ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ αὐτόν (cf. 451 E εἰ ἄρα ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρῆσόμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ταῦτα καὶ διδασκτέον αὐτάς, where καὶ goes closely with ἐπὶ ταῦτα) in the sense of 'the same habits, or manners, that have set him (Ἔρως) free.'

577 A. ἐν τε ταῖς κατ' οἰκίαν πράξεσιν, ὡς πρὸς ἐκάστους τοὺς οἰκείους ἔχει, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνὸς ἂν ὀφθείη τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς. Probably ἐν αἰς.

577 B. βούλει.. προσποιησόμεθα ἡμεῖς εἶναι τῶν δυνατῶν ἂν κρίναι; καὶ ἤδη ἐντυχόντων τοιούτοις.

I do not think τῶν δυνατῶν ἂν could be defended by the parallel of Eur. Alc. 182 σέ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται, σῶφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχὴς δ' ἴσως and the parody in Ar. Eq. 1252. In prose it is surely impossible to attach ἂν to an adjective. We have

τοῦ δυνατοῦ μὲν κρίναι a few lines above, which tells against the genuineness of ἂν here. Can ἂν represent οὐκ(των)? Or should we read τῶν δυνατῶν ἂν ὄντων?

579 D. δοῦλος τὰς μεγίστας θωπείας καὶ δουλείας. Surely we ought with two MSS. (Schneider) to read δουλείας καὶ θωπείας. The only thing that could make δοῦλος θωπείας tolerable would be that δοῦλος δουλείας should lead up to it.

585 A. ὥσπερ δὲ πρὸς μέλαν φαῖον ἀποσκοποῦντες ἀπειρίε λευκοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω λύπην ἀφορώντες ἀπειρίε ἡδονῆς ἀπατῶνται.

Thompson was undoubtedly right in principle when he proposed καὶ πρὸς λύπην οὕτω τὸ ἄλυπον: but I should rather incline to write καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην. One or the other is absolutely necessary.

586 C. ὅς ἂν αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαπράττηται. The sense seems to require something like ταῦτο τοῦτο or αὐ τοιούτων.

592 B. Ἄλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὄραν καὶ ὀρώντι ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν.

Herwerden seems right in taking exception to ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν, but neither αὐτὸ κατοικίζειν nor ὀρώντι πρὸς αὐτό ('keeping it in view') is satisfactory. I should suppose Plato to have written ἑαυτὸν <αὐτόσε> (or <εἰς αὐτήν>) κατοικίζειν. Cf. 543 B ἄγοντες τοὺς στρατιώτας κατοικοῦσιν εἰς οἰκήσεις: Tim. 69 D κατοικίζουσιν εἰς ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος οἰκισιν τὸ θνητόν. By itself ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν is incomplete.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

#### THE BACCHAE OF EURIPIDES.

I BEGIN by withdrawing the expression *mendacissimus*, which in my hot youth I applied to Henry Stephens. I think it was my opinion at that time that one might say anything in Latin. I remember that on the appearance of the edition of 1871 I was courteously admonished in a long-defunct magazine, the *Dark Blue*, by a young Cambridge scholar who had even then given earnest of his future brilliant achievements in scholarship, I mean Prof. Jebb, that it was unadvisable to revive the asperities of the Brunckian era. I have followed that advice, and have adopted a far less emphatic tone in my recent edition of the *Bacchae*.

But I still hold the belief that Stephens' *vetustissima exemplaria* had no existence. I know nothing about the case of Isaac Voss instanced by Mr. England, but I think he has been singularly fortunate if scholars have taken his word for the existence of MSS. seen by nobody but himself. Bosius (Du Bos), a fellow countryman of H. Stephens (Henri Estienne), has not gained such credence. His X and Y have been universally rejected by scholars. Baiter declares that all readings depending on them alone are *furca expellendae*, and in relating the circumstances of the death of Bosius he writes *Bosium cito scelus suum*

*morte luisse a lutronibus trucidatum*. It is true that Mendelssohn has lately raised the question whether these *codices* may not have been genuine; but the answer of scholars seems to be unanimous: 'If those *codices* existed how is it that no one has ever seen them?' Scholars of the revival were very ready to give full information about their *exemplaria* when they really existed. By an extraordinary vagary of human ambition some of them were capable of resorting to imposture to gain admittance into the early editions, and consequently a good chance of permanent acceptance, for their own conjectures, which were in many cases so good that they would have been universally accepted as certain conjectural emendations if candidly put forward as such.

I heartily admire Mr. England's scholarship, and appreciate highly the work he has done on Euripides. Moreover I completely agree with him in his admiration for the brilliant services of Stephens to scholarship. He is polite enough not to apply the objectionable superlative (even in Latin) to me, but, in the face of a significant aposiopesis on his part, I should like to show that even a less courteous disputant than he is himself would not be justified in applying to me the adjective even in the positive degree (and in Latin).

Kirchhoff does not believe in Stephens' *vetustissima exemplaria*. He gives a full account of the MSS. on which the text of the *Bacchae* depends, and he makes no mention at all of Stephens' *codices Italici*. He gives Stephens' quotations from them as the conjectures of that admirable scholar, and when he does not approve of them as conjectures he does not mention them. For instance, in 1060 he does not make any mention of *μόθων*, though Stephens is very instant in claiming for it MS. authority. This being so, I perhaps did not use the most appropriate language when I said that Kirchhoff has shown that the *codices* were fabricated when he had only shown that he believed them to be fabricated. Yet, if I proclaimed that I had won the Derby, and if Mr. England, on referring to a list of Derby winners generally accepted as accurate, and finding there no mention of my name, should declare that the list had shown that I was making an untrue statement, it would not be to Mr. England that the defamatory attribute would be most applicable.

Mr. England says that Stephens published the readings of his Italian *codices* along with conjectures of his own 'in such

a way that it is nearly always possible to distinguish the readings from the conjectures.' The fact seems to be that he published as his conjectures such emendations as he thought sure of general acceptance, and appealed to MSS. authority for those which he deemed to need such support. For instance, he writes *repono πανδήμοις pro πανδόμοις* in 227, but in 235, desiring to read *εἰκοσμος κόμην*, his tone is very different: *in vet. cod. legitur εἰκοσμος quam esse veram lectionem persuasum habeo*. Sometimes, but very rarely, he overrates the certainty of his own conjecture, and gives it as such, e.g. *ἡρπηνόμενας* in 688; but nearly always when his emendation is good enough in his judgment to dispense with MSS. support, it has proved sufficiently convincing to win universal acceptance. When he corrects *σπονδῆς* to *σπονδῆς* and *λογχαρόν* to *λογχατόν* he says *non est dubium quin reponendum sit*; but when the case admits of doubt he claims the authority of his *codices*. And the worse the conjecture the more earnest his appeal to the *codices*. This is illustrated by his note in defence of his worst conjecture *μόθων*, which Kirchhoff does not even record. It is worth noticing that Stephens never thought of *μόθων* as anything but the gen. plur. of *μόθος*; he was too good a scholar to think of introducing such a word as *μόθων* (-ωνος) into a tragedy. His practice is the same as regards the conjectures of other scholars. For instance the brilliant correction of Brodaeus, *Πανός* for *καπνός* in 952, is accepted as a certain emendation, but to the same scholar's *φόβῃ* for *φόβῳ* in 1187 and *περισσάν* for *περισσάς* in 1197 he calls the aid of his *codices*.

Mr. England did very well in calling the attention of the readers of the *Classical Review* to the fact that certain verses restored from *B* to the *Troades* in two passages, 193—196 and 232—234, are quoted from his *codices* by Stephens, who certainly did not know *B*. It is to be observed that of the second passage Kirchhoff writes 'mutilatos exhibet Ald. cum *AB*, supplevit in *A* m. sec.' Could Stephens have seen *A*? In any case it would seem better to accept the hypothesis suggested by Mr. England himself in his note than to believe in the existence of those *exemplaria* which both in the life of Stephens and since his death have evaded the search of every scholar save the brilliant Frenchman.

I would add a word or two in reference to Mr. Page's note on *Bacch.* 506. I have printed

that verse with *obel*i because I believe it has never been restored. I do not believe Euripides would have written οὐκ οἶσθ' ὃ τι ζῆς in the sense of 'you do not know what (blind) life you are leading' or 'that you have (but) the life of a mortal.' I think the word which I have in each version enclosed in parenthesis would be essential to the sense, yet it is not in the Greek. 'You do not know that you are a mere mortal' could be expressed in scores of ways. Mr. Page, who is a most skilful verse-writer, would not think of such an expression as οὐκ οἶσθ' ὃ τι ζῆς as a rendering of this sentiment. Why then should he ascribe it to Euripides? Still less do I believe that Euripides having written such an inelegant expression as οὐκ οἶσθ' ὃ τι ζῆς οὐθ' ὅστις εἰ

would have further encumbered the line with such a superfluous and clumsy *additamentum* as οὐδ' ὄρᾱς, which adds nothing to the sense and brings in a most ungraceful οὐδ' between οὐκ and οὐθ'. Mr. Page complains that the verse is now 'buried beneath a heap of learned rubbish, the proper place for which is the dustbin.' Just so. That is why I obelized the verse and put all the suggestions for its restoration, none of which seemed quite satisfactory, into the dustbin, my note. The only difference between us is that Mr. Page would put his little armful into the text, not the note, into the casket which holds the precious jewels, not into the dustbin which stands beside it.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

#### ON THE TERM ἐκτημόροι OR ἐκτημόριοι.

In Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* the word ἐκτημόριος is interpreted thus—'of a sixth part: hence οἱ ἐκτημόριοι = τὸ ἕκτον τῶν γιγνομένων τελούντες, those who paid a sixth of the produce as rent, Plut. Sol. 13; also ἐκτημόροι Hesych.'

In the April number of this *Journal*, Mr. Wayte in a list of 'corrections of Liddell and Scott' proposed to correct this interpretation. His arguments were as follows:

'The text of 'Αθ. Πολ. ch. 2 (*pace* Dr. Sandys) supports the contention that the cultivators paid five-sixths of the produce and retained only one-sixth. This is also the common-sense view: if the proportions were reversed, it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.'

May I suggest that these are inadequate reasons for 'correcting' a statement of fact distinctly made by Plutarch, repeated—as Liddell and Scott indicate—by Hesychius, and indirectly supported—as I shall presently show—by Isocrates. Mr. Wayte's first argument I am unable to answer, because he does not say *how* the text of 'Αθ. Πολ. supports his interpretation. But it is easy to show how, in my opinion, it supports that of Liddell and Scott. The relevant phrases are these:—

...ἐκαλοῦντο πελάται καὶ ἐκτημόροι κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν μίσθωσιν εἰργάζοντο τῶν πλουσιῶν τοὺς ἀγρούς...καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδοδοῖεν, ἀγῶγμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐγίνοντο.

It seems to me (1) that the pronominal

reference in ταύτην to ἐκτημόροι implies clearly that the μίσθος or μίσθωσις was τὸ ἕκτον μέρος, while (2) the phrase εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδοδοῖεν shows that the μίσθωσις was paid and not received—was, as Dr. Sandys says, 'rent and not wages.'

The authority of the 'Αθ. Πολ. seems to me, therefore, entirely on the side of Plutarch and Liddell and Scott. But, says Mr. Wayte, the other interpretation is required by 'common sense,' because, if the πελάται only paid one-sixth, 'it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.' Surely it came in where our authorities describe it as coming in, viz. through a severe law of debt, administered by oligarchical judges independent of popular control. It is against this that Solon's remedies are directed: we are not told that he attempted to introduce 'fair rents.' If it be said that the law of debt could not have done so much harm, if the tenants had only paid one-sixth, the answer is that Solon's language indicates a wide-spread economic distress among proprietors as well as tenants; since his first boast is that he 'removed many mortgage-pillars.' Surely, if the economic difficulties of the small proprietors were so great as to require the revolutionary remedy of a *σεισάχθεια*, the distress of mere tenants might be sufficiently severe, even if they only paid a rent of one-sixth.

In any case I hardly think that 'common sense,' in so obscure a subject as the economic history of Attica before Solon,



should override the explicit statements of Plutarch, supported—as I have tried to show—by the natural and obvious interpretation of the words of 'Aθ. Πολ. ch. 2. I know of no unambiguous evidence on the other side: and it is to be noted (1) that neither Plutarch nor the author of the *Athenian Polity* give a hint of a conflict of tradition on this point; and further (2) that Plutarch's statement is supported by the account which Isocrates gives (*Arsopag.* § 32) of the good old times,—describing how οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες did not neglect the poor, but ἐπήμυνον ταῖς ἐνδείαις, τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίαις μισθώσεσι παραδιδόντες κ.τ.λ. Now Isocrates, writing as *laudator temporis acti* is doubtless not a first-class

authority on a question of historic fact. Still the *Areopagiticus* is a serious political pamphlet: and, if it had been the established tradition in the time of Isocrates that the poor cultivators before Solon had to hand over five-sixths of their produce to their landlords, surely a writer of his repute would hardly have ventured on a moving description of the rich coming philanthropically to the succour of the poor by letting lands to them at 'moderate rents'!

On the whole, therefore, I venture to hope that—as the ancient authorities appear to be on their side—our old friends Liddell and Scott may be left uncorrected on this point.

HENRY SIDGWICK.

#### Δύναμις AND Φύσις IN PLATO.

WE might classify the senses of the term δύναμις according as it is used in reference to (a) animate things, or (b) inanimate things. Under (a) we might roughly class its uses to denote personal 'powers' of either an internal or external character by subdividing into (1) outward might or influence (due to κτήματα and χρήματα and the like), (2) corporal strength, (3) psychical effectiveness.

Under the first of these heads may be grouped such passages as *Menex.* 240 D ἡ τῶν Περσῶν δύναμις ('force' as concrete rather than abstract), *Tim.* 24 E, 25 A, *Rep.* ii. 364 A, iv. 423 A, *Laws* iv. 706 B, etc. But neither this nor the second loose and vulgar usage deserves more than a mere mention.

Passing on to (b) we find δύναμις frequently applied (1) to denote the 'effectiveness,' or sphere of action, of arts or sciences, e.g. *Rep.* v. 453 E ἡ γενναία...ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἀντιλογικῆς τέχνης, cp. *Gorg.* 447 C, 456 A, C. Also (2) it may denote the meaning or significance of a term, e.g. *Cratyl.* 394 B ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος δύναμις, *ib.* 435 D, *Phil.* 24 C, etc. And further, (3) we find it applied as a technical term in mathematics, in the sense of (a) the side of a square or the root of a number, e.g. *Polit.* 266 B ἡ διάμετρος ἡ δυνάμει δίπους...ἡ γε τοῦ λοιποῦ γένους πάλιν ἐστὶ κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως διάμετρος. Cp. *Theaet.* 148 B ff., and also conversely (b) of a square or square number, e.g. *Rep.* ix. 587 D κατὰ δὲ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην αὐξήν κ.τ.λ. ('by raising to the second and third powers'), *Theaet.* 147 E τὸν μὲν δυνά-

μενον (sc. ἀριθμὸν) ἴσον ἰσάκεις γίνεσθαι τετράγωνον καὶ ἰσοπλευρον προσείπομεν. Hence the δύναμις, in mathematical sense, may be either τοῦ ποιῆν (square root) or τοῦ πάσχειν (square number): δύνασθαι, as active, has for passive δυναστεύεσθαι (cp. Adam, *Nuptial Number* p. 31).

It thus appears that the term δύναμις admits of a tolerably wide range of application. But Plato has taken care in some places to define this range with more precision. Thus in *Rep.* v. 477 C ff. he makes use of the term for the purpose of distinguishing between ἐπιστήμη and δόξα. First he describes δυνάμεις as γένος τι τῶν ὄντων αἷς δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνάμεθα ἃ δυνάμεθα καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν ὃ τι περ ἂν δύνηται, οἷον λέγω ὁ ψιν καὶ ἄκοήν τῶν δυνάμεων εἶναι. Then he remarks that a δύναμις has no visible properties whereby to define it—δυνάμεως γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε τινα χρεῖαν ὁρῶ οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε τι τῶν τοιούτων,—and consequently its character is determined by that of the object upon which it is exercised and the effect which it produces: δυνάμεως δ' εἰς ἐκάστον μόνον βλέπω, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐστι καὶ ὃ ἀπεργάζεται...καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τεταγμένην καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπεργαζομένην τὴν αὐτὴν καλῶ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἑτέρον ἀπεργαζομένην ἄλλην. Then (477 E ff.) both ἐπιστήμη and δόξα are referred to δύναμις as their γένος or εἶδος, but distinguished from each other by their respective objects (ἐφ' οἷς), τὸ γνωστόν and τὸ δοξαστόν. So in 518 B, C ff. ἐπιστήμη is spoken of as δύναμις ἐνοῦσα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Hence we conclude:—  
ὄργανον : δύναμις :: ὄμμα : ὄψις :: τὸ λογιστικόν :

ἐπιστήμη. δύναμις, then, is best translated here 'function' (not 'faculty' or 'seelenvermögen,' as Krohn, *Der plat. Staat* p. 160: see Peiper's *Ontol. Plat.* pp. 574 ff.), which function may be of either bad or good quality according to the nature of its object and result; so that a δύναμις is not strictly identical with an ἀρετή (in spite of iv. 430 B, 443 B, v. 477 C), nor yet with φύσις. For the notion of δύναμις as conditioned by ἔργον we may compare 352 E ἀρ' οὖν τοῦτο ἂν θεΐης καὶ ἵππον καὶ ἄλλου ὁνοῦν ἔργον, ὃ ἂν ἢ μόνω ἐκείνῳ ποιῇ τις ἢ ἀριστα;... ἐσθ' ὅτῳ ἂν ἄλλῳ ἰδοῖς ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς;—ἀκούσαις ἄλλῳ ἢ ὠσίν; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκοῦν δικαίως ἂν ταῦτα ἄλλων φαινέμεν ἔργα εἶναι. 353 A: ἀρ' ἂν ποτε ὅμματα τὸ αὐτῶν ἔργον καλῶς ἀπεργάσαιντο μὴ ἔχοντα τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκειάν ἀρετήν κ.τ.λ. With which passages cp. *Ar. Eth. Nic.* i. 6, 1097b 24 ff., ii. 5, 1106a 15 ff. So ὅμμα as ὄργανον has ὄψις for δύναμις and also (opposed to τυφλότης 353 C) for ἀρετή, and, for ἔργον, τὸ ὄραν (ὃ ἀπεργάζεται), and for object (ἐφ' ᾧ, τὸ ὁρώμενον) χρώμα, σχῆμα. Again in 507 C ff. ὄψις is described as the αἰσθησις wherewith we see what we see, but for its actualization there is needed not only a visible object (χρώμα) but also a third factor, light, without which ἢ τε ὄψις οὐδὲν ὁψεται τὰ τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα. So the sun's light is the cause (αἰτία) which ὄψιν τε ποιεῖ ὄραν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα ὁρᾶσθαι (508 A). φῶς is thus the τίμιον ζυγόν by which are unified ἡ τοῦ ὄραν αἰσθησις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι δύναμις (507 E) or ἡ τοῦ ὄραν τε καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι δύναμις (507 C). The δύναμις may be present (ἐνοῦσα, παρούσα), as ὄψις in the eye, χροῶ in the object, only potentially and unrealized—a potency which the subject will attempt vainly to use (χρῆσθαι) in the dark. Hence, though Plato prefers to use δύναμις of function realizable at will, it is evident that he has in mind here the distinction between potentiality and actuality, of which Aristotle made so much: cp. *de An.* iii. 5 where φῶς is αἰτιον καὶ ποιητικόν which ποιεῖ τὰ δυνάμει ὄντα χρώματα, ἐνεργείᾳ χρώματα. The same distinction between the actual and potential underlies the discussion in *Theaet.* 197 ff. where ἔξις and κτήσις are distinguished, where κτήσις implies δύναμις τοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν or the recollection of previously acquired knowledge. But as 'efficiency' is the special mark of δύναμις, Plato does not trouble much to consider δυνάμεις which are unproductive of ἔργα, or which do not exist ἐνεργείᾳ. He does not contrast δύναμις persistently with the actual, but rather regards it as a condition of actuality, and as of causative value.

How nearly 'power' is akin to 'cause,' δύναμις to αἰτία, we may learn from Aristotle: δύναμις λέγεται ἢ μὲν ἀρχὴ κινήσεως ἢ μεταβολῆς ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἢ ἢ ἑτέρων κ.τ.λ., *Met.* Δ 12, 1019a 15, cf. *id.* 2, 1013a 29 ff., of the third, or efficient, cause, ἐτι ὅθεν ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἢ πρώτη ἢ τῆς ἡρεμύσεως, οἷον ὁ βουλευσας αἰτίας καὶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ τέκνου, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ τὸ μεταβλητικὸν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος. So *Phileb.* 30 D διὰ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας δύναμιν. Thus δύναμις may be said to mean causative efficacy, moving force, power of self-extension. But it is not conceived by Plato as mere abstract notion, but as belonging to an operative subject regarded as *organon* in whole or in part, whose quality it is. Everything which is causative or operative must, in so far, possess δύναμις, and so 'power' is conditioned by and correlative with the object worked on, cause and effect being an inseparable pair. So the 'square root' involves in its notion that of the square which it has 'power' to form: if 3 is expressed as  $\sqrt{9}$ , or as a δύναμις, we necessarily think of it in relation to its square or expanded form. And as the 'power' of 3 is to make 9, or  $3^2$ , so the 'power' of ἱατρικὴ is to make ὑγίεια or of πατήρ to make τέκνον. And conversely, 9, or  $3^2$ , has the 'power' of becoming made by 3, ὑγίεια and τέκνον of becoming produced by ἱατρός and πατήρ: division is the converse of multiplication, and we can speak of a δύναμις τοῦ πάσχειν as well as of a δύναμις τοῦ ποιεῖν.

Hence in its widest sense δύναμις means much what we mean by 'relativity': it is the necessary quality of every object and every subject of a related pair—δύναμιν τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν ἔχον, τὸ δὲ πάσχειν, *Theaet.* 156 A. Each member of the correlated pair is dynamical, and their causativeness is reciprocal: if 3 is the factor of 9, it is only because the nature of 9 admits of such a mode of production. Everything which is in relation to another thing may be termed a δύναμις, or said to possess δύναμις. So in *Rep.* ii. 366 E justice and injustice are regarded as each τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἔχοντος ψυχῇ ἐνόν: *ib.* 367 D justice δύννησι, injustice βλάπτει, and in E the question is raised τί ποιοῦσα ἐκάτερα τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτῇ δι' αὐτήν... ἢ μὲν ἀγαθόν, ἢ δὲ κακόν ἐστιν—i.e. states of soul or moral qualities are effective 'powers.' Thus moral virtues, or vices, are δυνάμεις, and intellectual states also, e.g. ἐπιστήμη or δόξα, as we have seen. The distinction between the psychical and corporeal side is most clearly brought out in the epistemological doctrine of the *Theaetetus*.

In pp. 184-5 we have the organon or physical medium (δι' οὗ) of sensation distinguished from the sentient subject, ἡ αἰσθανόμεθα, i.e. the bodily organs from the soul. And the δυνάμεις (δύς, ἀκού, etc.) equally with the ὄργανα are spoken of as δι' ὧν: and the phrase ἡ διὰ τῆς γλώττης δύναμις is used. So in the case of τὰ κοινά,—general qualities, mathematical relations and the like—αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπισκοπεῖ, whereas it perceives sensible qualities διὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος δυνάμεων—i.e. in pure διάνοια or νοήσις there is no special organon, and so no special δύναμις, but the soul is its own δύναμις, or δι' οὗ. But here too, in the purely intellectual sphere, the objects—ideas of οὐσιότης, ταυτῶν, θάτερον, etc.—are δυνάμεις no less than the soul which thinks them: they condition it no less than it them, or rather, the νοήματα are the resultants of the two factors νοῶν and νοούμενα. Hence δύναμις may attach to subject and object in sensation or in cogitation, as material or immaterial. And so in *Soph.* 247 C, E, the definition of ὄν offered for the acceptance of the materialists is δύναμις—τὸ καὶ ὁποιοῦν κεκτημένον δύναμιν, εἴτ' εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν ἕτερον ὅτιον πεφικὸς, εἴτ' εἰς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ σμικρότατον ὑπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου, πᾶν τοῦτο ὧτως εἶναι: and similarly in 248-9 the idealists are forced to admit in thought and its object ποιεῖν and πάσχειν, since γνώσις implies δύναμις and δύναμις involves κίνησις. So that δύναμις is the common denominator to which all reality, all causal relation whether outer or inner, spatial or non-spatial, is reduced. ὧτως οὐσία = δύναμις, the perceiving and perceptive, sensuously and intellectually—qualities and relations, with the minds which they affect whether mediately or immediately: or, if we prefer to put it so, psychological and corporeal 'functions' and their food or material. Hence it is apparent that the superficial classification with which we set out is sufficiently inadequate for a formulation of the import of the term in Platonic doctrine; but *exempli gratia* it may be of service.

Next, to compare δύναμις with φύσις. In *Phileb.* 29 B each of the elements in the sensible world is said to be οὐδαμῶς εἰδικρινὲς ὃν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς φύσεως ἔχει, whereas τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ πῦρ is πλήθει τε θαυμαστόν καὶ κάλλει καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει τῇ περὶ τὸ πῦρ οὖσα. Here δύναμις is 'sense-affecting property,' while φύσις is substantial nature or constitution, as something original and essential—the latter being fire as absolute, in and for itself, the former as its relative efficiency. Or φύσις ('production')

may be said to denote the thing's generic aspect, as member of a given stock whose name it bears—'Fire.' Again in *Phileb.* 64 E we find: καταπέφενγεν ἡμῖν ἡ τάχαθ' οὗ δύναμις εἰς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ φύσιν—'the efficient power of the Good has fled down into the substantial nature of the Beautiful.' δύναμις is appropriate to the Good as the pre-eminent αἰτία—also as super-ordinate notion, cf. *Eth. Nic.* A 1, 1094a 10 ὅσαι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν τοιούτων (sc. τεχνῶν) ὑπὸ μίαν τινὰ δύναμιν καθάπερ ὑπὸ τὴν ἱππικὴν χαλνοποιητικὴν κ.τ.λ., which also shows the force of the prep. in καταπέφενγεν. Similarly in *Rep.* 433 D the other virtues owe δύναμιν τοῦ ἐγγενέσθαι to Justice, and in 508 A, B the eye owes its δύναμις to the Sun—τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν ἔχει, ἐκ τοῦτον ταμενομένην ὥστερ ἐπύρρτον κέκτηται. The Universal δύναμις or energy descends into the particular φύσεις to which it imparts their particular δυνάμεις, by a kind of self-division or self-expansion, as the root expands into its square, or the πυθμῆν, or primary ratio, in the geometrical progression proceeds onward in the series 1...n. As thus expanded and actualized the Ideal δύναμις becomes itself φύσις: hence, in *Phileb.* 66 A τὴν ἀδιδὸν φύσιν (as subject to ἡρῆσθαι, if the text be right) can indicate τάχαθ' οὗ. And so the Ideas as real are said to be ἐσθηκότα ἐν τῇ φύσει, i.e. permanent elements, or rather laws, in *rerum natura*: they are as factors 'present' in their resultants, roots manifested in their expansions, limits applied to τὸ ἄπειρον. The φύσις of a thing may be said to be its compound union of both form and matter; but its δύναμις depends solely on its formal character.

A thing as φύσις is, thus, composite, mixed, extended, whether physically or logically. For φύσις of logical genera and species cp. *Soph.* 257 A ἡ τῶν γενῶν φύσις, C ἡ τὰ θατέρων φύσεις, D τὰ τῆς θατέρων φύσεως μορία, which shows that the φύσις of such genera is soluble, divisible, and that its unity is not that of the individuum but of the ὅλον, of the sum not of the monad. φύσις of personal moral nature is also analysable into μέρη, as *Rep.* vi. 495 A τὰ τῆς φιλοσόφου φύσεως μέρη. And *physically*, the φύσις of a σῶμα is its constitution of elements: *Tim.* 74 D τὴν δὲ τῶν νέρων φύσιν ἐξ ὅσπου καὶ σαρκὸς ἀζύμον κράσεως... ξυνεκράσατο. Thus the resultant of elemental factors, or δυνάμεις, is φύσις—so *Phil.* 25 E ἡ τούτων (i.e. τῶν πέρας ἔχοντων) ὁρθὴ κοινωνία τὴν ὑγείας φύσιν ἐγέννησεν. So in general, φύσις is to δύναμις as effect to cause, result to agent, subordinate to super-ordinate: the δ ἀπεργάζεται, whereby the

otherwise incomprehensible *δύναμις* is conditioned and determined, appears as actual *ἐν φύσει*. This distinction is set forth as that between the human and the Divine in *Laus* iii. 691 E: *φύσις τις ἀνθρωπίνῃ μεμυγμένη θεῷ τινὶ δυνάμει κατιδούσα κ.τ.λ.* But *φύσις* may be contrasted with other notions beside *δύναμις*. Thus it may denote what is independent of human effort or volition: so *φύσει* is opposed to *νόμῳ* (*Prot.* 337 C, *Gorg.* 482 E, etc.), to *τέχνῃ* (*Rep.* ii. 381 A), to *διδασκόν* (*Prot.* 323 C), to *σοφίᾳ* (*Apol.* 22 C). So it indicates what is innate, instinctive—the inherited, permanent, and transmissible characteristics, as opposed to the acquired and artificial. And the natural and permanent is the true and genuine—

*φύσει καὶ μὴ πλαστῶς Laus* vi. 777 D; ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἀληθῶς οὐσα...πολιτικὴ *Polit.* 308 C. Applying here also the same terms to the intellectual as to the physical sphere, we can thus speak of ἡ τοῦ κάλλους φύσις (*Phaedr.* 254 B), *φύσις* being equivalent to *οὐσία*, 'essence,' what a thing is *αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό*, or absolutely regarded. Which brings us again to our former point of contrast—*δύναμις* as relative and self-externalizing with *φύσις* as absolute and self-complete. In the Idea both these aspects are combined—Unity in process of cognition expanding into Totality, root into square, *σπέρμα* into *φυτὸν*.

R. G. BURY.

#### NOTE ON VIRGIL, *AENEID* 5, 359.

*Et clipeum efferrī iussit, Didymaonis artes,  
Neptuni sacro Danaïs de poste refixum.  
hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere  
donat.*

Virg. *Aen.* 5, 359.

ALL explanations of the second line which violate the plain meaning (such as rendering *refixum* 'hung up,' or with Conington making it = *refixum et ademptum Danaïs*) must be dismissed as palpable subterfuges.

The words *Danaïs refixum* can only mean 'taken down by the Greeks,' and the explanation of those who so take them is fairly given by Deuticke (11th edition of Ladewig and Schaper's *Virgil*)—'The Greeks therefore had carried off (*geraubt*) the shield from a temple of Neptune in which it was dedicated. How it afterwards came into the hands of the Trojans Virgil does not state.'

This explanation must however be dismissed. It obviously explains nothing and it rather strains the meaning of *refixum*, but the fatal objection is that it makes the whole line nonsense. A shield 'carried off by the Greeks' can only be a memorial of Greek valour, and the mind naturally thinks of it as carried off by them during the sack of Troy. But the object of Virgil in writing the line is clearly not to connect the shield with memories of disaster and defeat, but to enhance its value in the eyes of the youthful Trojan to whom it is presented. It exhibits 'the skilled workmanship of Didymaon,' it is a 'glorious gift' for a 'very goodly youth,' and the words *Neptuni...refixum*

beyond question indicate some quality which is to be a cause of exultation, and not of grief, to its possessor.

If this be accepted—and it seems to me beyond dispute—we are in a complete dilemma. We must either mistranslate the line or we must put up with an explanation which is worse than useless. Under these circumstances any suggestion which is not obviously foolish deserves consideration, and I put one forward in the hope that some readers of the *Classical Review* will be able to contribute some of the additional evidence which is required to support it. It is this. Why should not the shield have been 'taken down' (not 'carried off') by the Greeks from a Grecian temple of Neptune when starting for Troy, and there won by Aeneas in combat with the chosen champion who bore it? What nobler prize could Aeneas select than a sacred shield, of rare beauty, and which recalled a proud memory?

The weakness of this suggestion is, of course, that the practice of taking dedicated armour or weapons to battle needs proof. Under stress of necessity<sup>1</sup> they were certainly used, cf. Livy, 22, 57; 24, 21 (quoted in Conington) and the well-known instance of David taking the sword of Goliath 1 Sam. xxi. 9, nor is there any *à priori* improbability in such weapons being supposed to possess peculiar efficacy, and indeed in Livy 24, 21 those who take the Gallic spoils

<sup>1</sup> See too Val. Max. 7, 6 and Sil. Ital. 10, 599, two excellent references for which I am indebted to the editor.—T. E. P.



from the temple of Jupiter pray him along with his hallowed weapons to lend his holy aid (*precantes ut volens propitius praebeat sacra arma, pro patria, pro deum delubris, pro libertate sese armantibus*), while David accepts the sword which is 'wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod' with special confidence—'There is none like that; give it me.'

One passage of Virgil affords some help. In 3, 286 the shield which Aeneas dedicates as a trophy won 'from the conquering Greeks' (*de Danais victoribus*) is described as '*magni gestamen Abantis*.'

Now the only Abas we know of was an old king of Argos whose shield was preserved in the temple of Juno and seems to have been annually carried by the victor of the games held in her honour (see Heyne, *Excursus IX.* to Book 3, *de clipeo Abantis*). But if this is the shield which Aeneas dedicates—and the words *magni gestamen Abantis* seem to mark a noted shield—how did Aeneas win it from the Greeks, unless some Argive champion had in Juno's cause taken Juno's shield to Troy as a sign of Juno's aid?

T. E. PAGE.

#### EURIPIDES, *MEDEA* 160, 170.

MH. ὦ μεγάλη Θέμι καὶ πότνι' Ἄρτεμι,  
λεύσεθ' ἃ πάσχω κ.τ.λ.

TP. κλύεθ' ὅα λέγει κάπιβοῶται  
170 Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζῆνά θ' ὅς ὄρκων  
θηγοῖς ταμίαις νενόμισται.

It has been observed that the words of the Nurse misrepresent the invocation of Medea, who has appealed to Themis and Artemis but not to Zeus. The difficulty cannot be explained away, and it may be regarded as certain that the text is corrupt. Weil's attempt to correct it

ὦ μεγάλῃ Ζεὺ καὶ Θέμιν πότνια

is wild, and Mr. Verrall's suggestion *πάτερ ὄρκι* for *πότνι' Ἄρτεμι* involves too violent a change to be probable. The corruption

lies in l. 170 and may be set right by a simple change. Read

Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζηνὸς, ὃς ὄρκων.

For an obvious reason *ος* fell out, and *Ζηνος* was then corrected to *Ζῆνά θ' ὅς* to restore sense and metre. This emendation is rendered almost certain by ll. 207, 208

θεοκλυτεῖ δ' ἄδικοι παθοῦσα  
τὴν Ζηνὸς ὄρκίαν Θέμιν.

Since I wrote this note, I found that I had been anticipated in this solution of the difficulty by Nauck; but as he did not adopt his conjecture in his text, and as it does not seem to have attracted attention, I venture to publish my note as it was originally written. The emendation, whatever be its value, is Nauck's property.

J. B. BURY.

#### Πλειστήρης, πλειστηρίζομαι.

Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 762 sqq.  
ἐγὼ δὲ χώρα τῇδε καὶ τῷ σὺ στρατῷ  
τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἅπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον  
ὀρκωμοτήσας νῦν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους,  
μήτοι τιν' ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.

*Choephoroe* 1029, 1030.  
καὶ φίλτρα τόλμης τῆσδε πλειστηρίζομαι  
τὸν Πυθόμαντιν Λοξίαν χρίσαντ' ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.

In the second of these passages the general sense of the verb *πλειστηρίζομαι* is sufficiently manifest from the context. It must mean

'I cite in justification,' 'I appeal to.' But it is not clear how it came to bear this meaning, and the scholiast's *καυχῶμαι* does not help us. In the first passage, on the other hand, the general sense of *πλειστήρη* is by no means obvious, and the common interpretation is unsatisfactory. In form *πλειστήρης* evidently belongs to the group *κατήρης, τριήρης, ποδῆρης*, etc., in which the second part seems to be etymologically connected with *ἄρω, ἀραρίσκω*. It is supposed to be equivalent to *πλείστον* and to mean 'very long.' The verse might be rendered

'henceforward for all the long course of time'—the words being placed by hyperbaton here, instead of after *μήτοι*. If so, *πλειστήρη* would be merely rhetorical.

It seems to me that these two passages may be used to explain each other and the meaning of this rare word elicited by comparing them. The clue, I believe, is to be found in a common use of *πλείστος* as signifying 'widely spread, generally received, in vogue,' in regard, for instance, to an opinion or a custom. I propose to ascribe to *πλειστήρης* a similar meaning, and to take *πλειστήρη* in the passage under discussion as a neuter plural depending on *ὑρκωμοτήσας*: 'having sworn oaths which shall be authori-

tative for all time from henceforth, even that no man' etc. It may be observed that this interpretation gets rid of the justifiable, though a little awkward, hyperbaton. *πλειστήρης* meaning *authoritative*, *πλειστήριζομαι* would mean 'I make authoritative for myself, cite as authoritative,' and so 'appeal to.'

Mr. Verrall (*Choeph.* 1027) throws out a conjecture that *πλειστηρίζεσθαι τινας* might mean to make oneself a majority by calling one's supporters, and so, cite to support; he does not deal with the passage in the *Eumenides*, but merely notes its obscurity.

J. B. BURY.

#### HORACE, *EPIST.* I. i. 51.

*dulcis sine pulvere palmae.*

To the illustrations of this phrase adduced by the commentators *ad loc.* we may add the following, Cic. *De Off.* 1, 18 § 61:

*Itaque in probris maxime in promptu est, si quid tale dici potest:*

*Vos enim iuvenes animum geritis muliebrem,*

*Illa virago viri,  
et si quid eiusmodi:*

*Salmaci, da spolia sine sudore et sanguine.*  
(See Holden *ad loc.*)

Compare also Gellius 5, 6, 21: *OVANDI ac non triumphandi causa est, cum..... deditione repente facta, impulserea, ut dici solet, incruentaque victoria obvenit.*

CHARLES KNAPP.

*Barnard College, New York.*

#### POSTGATE'S EDITION OF THE *CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM*.

*Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, ed. J. P. POSTGATE. Fasc. I. London: Bell. 1893. 9s. net.

THIS is the first instalment of a work which has long been a necessity. The *Corpus* of Walker (1827) and that of Weber (1833) were useful enough and for the time when they appeared fairly well executed: but they could not satisfy the needs of a generation trained to more exact criticism by Lachmann, Ritschl and Munro. Indeed the last half century of classical philology has been mainly and specially occupied in examining and expending the materials on which a sound text must be based; new MSS. have been brought to light, the relation of families of MSS. marked out, and an attempt made, not always indeed conclusively, to reject the useless and retain only the important. A great deal has

been done, in this way and as a consequence of this examination of sources, to clear the ground for conjecture: corrupt passages may now (at least in the case of some authors) be considered in a fair way towards restoration, and many emendations founded on inferior MSS. no longer hold their ground. In a word it had become a necessity to have a *Corpus* in which the text of each poet should be edited from the best known MSS. and the readings of those MSS. faithfully reported; and that, so as to present themselves to the eye of the reader simultaneously with the text based upon them; in a word, upon the same page. In addition to this, the editing was to be placed in the hands of competent scholars, *i.e.* scholars who possessed—besides the equipment which at one time was thought adequate to the task of editing, a proper grammatical and metrical training

—the no less indispensable faculty of being able to read and pass judgment on MSS. For, strange as it may seem, there are still in existence men who venture to pronounce on questions of classical criticism, *without* such preliminary meletesis; and who, if pressed on the point, are ready to assert that, to take a good typical example, no real advance upon Heinsius has been made in the study of Ovid by the labours of Merkel, Korn, Riese, Magnus, Birt, Tank, Sedlmayer, Ehwald, A. Palmer, S. G. Owen, or myself.

Prof. J. P. Postgate, the well-known tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, the college of Bentley, Dobree, Munro, Jebb, and many other lights of less, but not inconsiderable, brightness, some years ago conceived the idea of once again satisfying the wish of English scholars for a collective edition of the Latin Poets to be brought out by scholars of eminence, and who had shown special training or aptitude for the task by published contributions on different parts of the subject. The work has gradually taken shape, and the first fasciculus is now before us. It contains *Ennius* edited by Lucian Müller, *Lucretius* by Munro, *Catullus* by Postgate, *Vergil* by Nettleship, *Horace* by Gow, *Tibullus* by Ed. Hiller. The names are more than to content us. L. Müller's *Ennius* is known to every scholar; the *Lucretius* of Munro has secured a world-wide fame; Prof. Postgate's *Catullus* may rank with the best editions of the poet; Nettleship had devoted many years of a busy life to *Vergil*; Gow's Horatian studies have exhibited their first-fruits in the *Classical Review*; Hiller's *Tibullus* in care and judgment may rank with his Greek work. It is satisfactory to find Germans of such eminence contributing to an English series: and Prof. Postgate has shown his full appreciation of the importance of their collaboration by frequent references to their views in his apparatus criticus.

Turning to a more mechanical point of view, I may say that the work is printed in pages of double columns, containing, where the lines run on uninterruptedly, an average of sixty to sixty-five lines in a column. The print is handsome and tolerably clear; for my own part I could have wished the type a trifle larger: but economy of space is responsible for this. Italics are used, as in Munro's *Lucretius*, to show that a word has been introduced which is not in the MSS., or an emendation which deviates from them.

The book is not entirely free from misprints. *Aen.* v. 709 *fato* for *fata*, vii. 207

*Idaes* for *Idaeas*, x. 554 *multa* for *multa*, xi. 370 *findens* for *fidens*, *gemma* for *geminis* v. 416, *suscitit* for *suscitat* v. 454.

The *Vergil* however is most carefully done. As the last work Prof. Nettleship undertook it has a special interest for his friends and admirers. That wide knowledge of the ancient commentators, which his preface to the second volume of Conington's *Vergil* exhibits, is conspicuous in the readings which from time to time he has in deference to them introduced. Such are v. 850, 1 *Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris Et caelo, totiens deceptus fraude sereni?* vi. 249 *Succipiunt*, as Servius, against *Suscipiunt* of MR; vii. 98 *Externi ueniunt generi*, which Servius pronounces to be 'melius' than *uenient*; viii. 25 *lacuaria* for *laquearia*; ix. 349 *et multa morte recepit Purpureum: uomit ille animam* for *e. m. m. r.*; *Purpuream u. i. a.*; on ix. 486 *nec te tua funera mater Produxi*, Servius' improbable view that *funera* = *funerea* is cited as if it might perhaps be right, which is very difficult to believe; x. 316, 17 *casus euadere ferri Quo licuit paruo?* for *Quod* of M and P<sup>1</sup>. Some of these, and others such as *epulaeque ante ora paternae* vi. 604 for *paratae*, vi. 806 *uirtute extendere uires* for *uirtutem extendere factis*, will surprise or shock the lovers of the established: yet those who wish to arrive at a rapid knowledge of the principal divergences from the traditional text of Vergil will nowhere find them presented more lucidly or in succiner form than in Prof. Nettleship's apparatus criticus. The absence from it of modern names is a pleasing fact, for which I suspect many Englishmen will be grateful. Even Conington is quoted only exceptionally. There are few, probably, who believe that emendation can do much for Vergil. I speak, of course, only of his acknowledged works: for the *opuscula* are so corrupt in the very earliest MSS. as to make the problem of the conjectural restorer unusually tempting and interesting.

In Horace, where the MS. problem is notoriously one of the most difficult, Mr. Gow bases his text on Keller and Holder. In lecturing on Horace I confess to have found this so difficult to manage with anything like clearness, that I cannot but fear the same result may await the reader of Mr. Gow's text. The mind strays perplexedly in the mazy mixture of Greek and Roman letters, sometimes capitals, sometimes minuscules, sometimes accented (A') sometimes not, and ends with giving up the attempt to arrive at anything like a clear

view of the relative value of the MSS. which these symbols express. It might have been more judicious, for the purposes of a Corpus like this, where succinctness is everything, to simplify the apparatus criticus by rejecting more than a very small number of the MSS. examined by Keller and Holder. It may be urged that such a selection is a matter of great difficulty: it is, yet I wish it had been attempted; and that the readings of the MSS. actually quoted had been verified by personal or at any rate new inspection. It is probable that such a verification would have led Mr. Gow to distrust the vast mass of critical information given by Keller and Holder; at any rate the confidence which the student would feel as to the correctness of any reading would be greatly increased. Perhaps, too, some of the emendations might have with advantage been spared, e.g. *raui* Epod. xiii. 13, *crepuscula* S. i. 8, 34, again S. ii. 1, 86, *rabulae*, ii. 3, 25 *Mercuriali*, 215 *gnatae pater*, S. ii. 5, 48, *ut ei*, a violently improbable conjecture of Madvig's, Epist. ii. 1, 115, 116, *melicorum*—*melici* for *medicorum*—*medici*, a very tame conjecture of Bentley's, lastly Housman's *quondam nauos dormitat Homerus* for *quandoque bonus d. II.*, a correction which must be ranked with the less successful efforts of this ready and ingenious, but not equally convincing scholar; of whose powers Mr. Postgate's first fasciculus presents perhaps over-many specimens, to the neglect, at times, of other and more plausible emendations.

Mr. Postgate, who has been allowed to reprint Munro's text of Lucretius, would perhaps have gratified the general public more by giving a revised text of his own. It would have made of this first volume of the Corpus a more perfectly new contribution to the study of the Latin poets, and it would have been interesting to note the deviations which an enthusiastic, yet not, as too many Cambridge men are, slavish, follower of Munro could bring himself to introduce into the Lucretian text. And I suppose that even Englishmen are aware that in more than a few passages Munro is not final. How should he be, if Lachmann was not? Speaking at any rate for myself, I should have hailed from Mr. Postgate a completely new and re-constituted text: nay, I imagine, it would have been better for the study of

the poet if, besides the larger and smaller editions which we already have of Munro's recension, a third, almost if not quite identical, had not been added to the list. Fresh views, fresh restorations would have been acceptable enough to the scientific student, to the professed scholar. It ought not to be said that Munro has edited Lucretius once for all time; and that anything like a really new recension is impossible. That Mr. Postgate does not think so, is abundantly clear from his articles in the *Journal of Philology*, and from his citations of other critics who have not been able always to agree with Munro, notably Bockemüller. There are, indeed, some passages in which Munro perversely kept to a reading well-nigh impossible, e.g. v. 311, 312, which MSS. give

Denique non monimenta uirum dilapsa  
uidemus

Quaerere proporro sibi cumque senescere  
credas?

and which Munro prints so, altering *cumque* to *sene* (se ne). This question which the ruined monuments are supposed to put as to their antiquity has always seemed to me not a little grotesque: and it was not Munro's original view. If anything can be clear about the passage, it is that *credas* is corrupt. More than twenty years ago I suggested that the verse should be thus restored

*Aeraque* (so Munro) *proporro silicumque*  
*senescere petras.*

This has, I think, escaped Mr. Postgate.

The *Tibullus* of Hiller is interesting rather as the latest work of an eminent scholar than for any striking contribution of his own. But some of the corrections made by foreign scholars are remarkably interesting, and to many readers will be quite novel. I would mention Waardenburg's *curtas* for *hircus* ii. 1, 58, Lachmann's *mixtu subriguisse* for *mixtus obriguisset* ii. 3, 14c, and, to go back to an earlier time, Scioppius' *proxima* for *maxima* iii. 5, 3, and our own Markland's *genium* for *centum* i. 7, 49, which may be truly called palmary.

ROBINSON ELLIS.



## MANITIUS ON EDITIONS OF HORACE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

*Analekten zu. Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter (bis 1300).* M. MANITIUS. Göttingen. 1893. pp. vii. 127. M. 2.80.

It is unnecessary at the present day to point out the importance for the constitution of the texts of classical authors of a thorough knowledge of the history of those texts. Such knowledge has put us within measurable distance of solving the problem of Bosius' alleged MSS. of Cicero's *Letters*, and has established the value of the English as against the continental tradition of the text of Pliny's *Natural History*. But while we admire the results, we in this country are rather apt to forget to be grateful to those who have done the real work, by toiling through the writers of the middle ages for quotations from or imitations of classical authors. It is work of this kind that Manitius has done for Horace in this little book. M. Hertz in his *Analecta ad carminum Horatianorum historiam* (Breslau 1876-82, i.-iv.) had collected Horatiana from all the writers of the first three and a half centuries: in v. he had gone through all the ecclesiastical writers and grammarians etc., down to the Mavortian recension in 527. At this point he left off, expressing however the hope that he might be able to undertake the further task ('periculosae plenum aleae') of tracing the Horatian tradition through the middle ages. But he never did so; and some years ago handed over all his materials to Manitius, who is already well known as a worker in the field of 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte.' Hence the present *Analekten*.

The book is divided into an introduction, and five chapters. In the introduction M. gives a general account of his subject, showing the influence of the growth of monasticism on classical studies, and bringing together some of his results, the details of which are to be found in the following chapters. Unfortunately, they contribute nothing to the constitution of the text. But there is much that is interesting in them. Thus Manitius calls attention to the very small degree in which Horace has influenced Italian literature. Italy supplies the fewest Horatian MSS. and the fewest citations, though it was to an Italian—Vilgard of Ravenna—that the poet chose to appear in a dream and thank him for the attentions he had paid him. In France, on

the other hand (i.e. the part of Europe to which modern France corresponds), Horace was largely studied. As early as the middle of the ninth century Heiric was acquainted with all four books of the *Odes*. A ninth century MS. at Montpellier has c. iv. 11 set to music. In the tenth century Gerbert (afterwards Sylvester II.) lectured on Horace, Juvenal, and Persius—the earliest instance of Horace being taught in medieval schools. In the eleventh century there appears to have been a decline in the study of Horace in France, though MSS. are numerous; but with the increased importance of Cluny and Paris in the twelfth century the number of quotations as well as of MSS. increases also. The thirteenth century was the period of compendia and florilegia, and the original texts were not much studied. After France comes Germany: and though France supplies most MSS. and florilegia, and though it is French authors who quote Horace most, Manitius is inclined to hold that it was in Germany that the knowledge of Horace was most widely diffused. It is remarkable that in the ninth century there is no MS. of Horace mentioned in the catalogues of the great libraries of Constanza, S. Gall, Reichenau or Bobio. That there was one at Reichenau is shown by Walahfrid's quotations, and there must have been one at Toul, where the *Ecbasis Capitivi* (one-fifth of which consists of lines borrowed from Horace) was written in 940; its readings, Manitius points out, most resemble those of Keller and Holder's E and λ. In the tenth century there were complete Horaces at Köln and Gandersheim, and Hedwig Duchess of Schwaben (Ekkehard's pupil) presented one to Burchard. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the number of German MSS. increases (in the latter especially glossed MSS.), and with them also the number of quotations. In the thirteenth century florilegia and collections of proverbs prevail, as in France; but MSS. also are numerous. Albert of Stade quotes largely from Horace, using a text which has the ordinary mistakes of our inferior MSS. (a. p. 58 he appears to have read *procudere nummum*). Conrad de Mure was well acquainted with him, and wrote a full account of his metres, with illustrations: his MS. appears to have been closely related to γ.

Horace appears to have found his way

early to Great Britain; and it is to our countrymen (or perhaps Italians) that Manilius ascribes the introduction of the poet to the court of Charlemagne (p. 18), and goes so far as to say that Alcuin was probably nicknamed Flaccus because of the moral tendency of his writings: 'wir haben also für die frühe karolingische Zeit Horaz als einen Typus des gelehrten Lebens gewonnen'—hardly satisfactory reasoning. Three English MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries are extant, but none are mentioned in catalogues before the twelfth century when there was one at Durham; and in the thirteenth century we find four—at Canterbury, Rochester, Glastonbury, and Reading. John of Salisbury had a good text tolerably free from interpolation.

In Spain, Horace appears to have been but little read. Eulogius of Cordova (848) knew the *Satires*, but after him there is no quotation for three centuries.

An interesting point which Manilius brings out is that it is Horace's moral writings which are most largely quoted from, and which were most widely read. It is rare to find the *Odes* at all known before the tenth century (Hraban, Walahfrid, and Heiric are exceptions): the *Epodes* are seldom quoted, and the *Carmen Saeculare* only twice in the whole of the middle ages (vv. 59–60 by the author of Vita Adalberonis of Würzburg, and v. 1 by Conrad de Mure). On the other hand, the *Epistles* and *Satires* appear to have been very popular (especially *Epp.* i. 1–2), and many lines from them became proverbs, such as *semper avarus eget: oderunt peccare boni uirtutis amore*, with the eleventh century gloss *oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae*.

F. A. HIRTZEL.

#### SPENGLER'S EDITION OF THE *RHETORES GRAECI*.

*Rhetores Graeci ex recognitione* LEONARDI SPENGLER. Vol. i. Pars ii. edidit C. HAMMER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8vo. Pp. 416. 1894. 3 M. 60 Pf.

THE first volume of Spengel's convenient and well-known edition of the *Rhetores Graeci* contained, besides Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, ten minor treatises. The Aristotle has already been re-edited for Teubner's series by Adolf Roemer (1885), and now Hammer has revised the rest of the volume for a new edition. The first is a brief fragment *περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως*, which is a commentary on Aristotle *Rhet.* iii. 18. The second is the important and interesting treatise, now commonly ascribed to Anaximenes. Hammer retains this ascription, but inclines to the view of Susemihl, that it really comes between Isocrates and Hermagoras, and cannot be earlier than the third century before Christ. He has used for his recension, besides the MSS. employed by Spengel, two others in the Vatican, both of which he considers to belong to the better family. The third treatise is that *περὶ ὕψους*, for which Hammer has naturally followed very closely the

excellent edition by Vahlen. The fourth is the *τέχνη ῥητορικὴ* of Longinus, which is followed by an anonymous epitome of this treatise, and by a series of brief extracts, which are said, but evidently incorrectly, to be taken from Longinus. The seventh is the *τέχνη ῥητορικὴ* of Apsines, for which the edition of Bake based upon Cobet's careful collation of the two Paris MSS. has been mostly followed. Then comes a brief treatise by Minucianus, for which a new Paris MS. has been collated, a *τέχνη ῥητορικὴ* recently without sufficient reason assigned to Cornutus, and finally, a short compendium by Rufus, a pupil of Herodes Atticus. On almost all these works much has been written since the date of Spengel's edition, and Hammer appears to have used the literature with considerable diligence, besides collating several important new MSS. I have not observed in reading the *περὶ ὕψους* any original emendations of importance, but the suggestions of previous scholars are carefully recorded: and it is an immense advantage to have the critical notes now placed at the foot of each page.

A. S. WILKINS.

HALLARD'S EDITION OF *THE IDYLLS OF THEOCRITUS*.

*The Idylls of Theocritus*, translated into English Verse by JAMES HENRY HALLARD, M.A. Oxon. Longmans. 6s. 6d.

MR. HALLARD tells us in his Preface that he has 'endeavoured to satisfy the requirements of the exacting scholar as well as those of the man of letters.' But surely if the exacting scholar requires any translation at all, it will not be a Verse Translation. The scholar however welcomes such a translation, and indeed any translation which gives proof that, in spite of many douches of cold water, the love of Greek Poetry is not yet quenched in the hearts of men: and the man of letters, whether familiar or not with the original, welcomes it as a test of literary merit, and will value it in proportion to the closeness of adaptation of the thought and language of the present time to those of a race that has passed away.

Mr. Hallard is undoubtedly right in not attempting to present Theocritus' characters more faithfully by employing any provincialism of dialect. These herdsmen of Sicily or South Italy are not idealized: this is shown by the coarseness of banter which in some (very few) instances stays the pen of the translator. Natural refinement is the rule: but in herdsmen of the present day it would be the exception. Mr. Hallard's translations—apart from the metrical form—are remarkably accurate. The exacting scholar might take a few trifling objections—e.g. in Id. i. to 'softly smiling' for *λάθρῃα γέλοιον*, and to 'that glides on the lip' for *περὶ χεῖλος ἔλκταν*: in Id. iv. 28 to 'I fashion'd' for *ἐπάξα*, which must be 2nd person: in Id. vii. 23 to 'from tomb unto tombstone' for *ἐπιτυμβίδιοι*, and *ibid.* 26 to 'buskined feet' for *ἀρβυλῶδες*: in Id. xiv. 17 to 'were fetched forth' for *ἐξηρέθη*: in Id. xv. 53 to 'the roan' for *ὁ πῖρος*, and *ibid.* 92 to 'like people in the Chersonese' for *Πελοποννησιῶτι*; *ibid.* 149 to 'welfare still be ours at thy return' for *ἐς χαίροντας ἀφίκεν* (though possibly the reading *ἀφικνέ* is followed, which has generally been superseded). Again *τέρτιξ* is sometimes 'grasshopper,' sometimes 'cicala'; and is not Mr. Hallard singular in taking *Βουκαῖος* in Idyll x. for the name of one of the mowers? The received argument gives 'Battus and Milo.'

With regard to the metres employed, the blank verse is certainly the most successful, as in Idylls iv. v. xiv. xv. xxi. and naturally

so, inasmuch as rhyme fetters the free choice of words, or emphasizes an insignificant word or syllable: e.g.—

In Id. ii.

...sprinkle it,  
...whither is flown thy wit.

In Id. x.

...grasshopper loves the grasshopper *aye*,  
...and to me the Muse's lay.

In Id. xiii.

...bethink them of seafaring  
...their sail to the breezes fling.

In Id. xviii.

...Athene and maiden Artemis  
...a matron art thou by this.

Again in Id. xxiv. Amphitryon's 'glaive' is obliged to 'wave,' rather than hang, over his couch. Such rhymes too as 'then' and 'again,' 'love thee' and 'above me,' 'precipice' and 'eyes' are, to say the least, unsatisfactory.

Hexameters are employed in Idylls vii. xvi. xxii. xxv. This metre (unless in the catalectic form adopted so successfully by the late Lord Bowen in his translation of the *Aeneid*) is wearisome in English on account of the necessarily constant recurrence of a disyllabic word at the end; and when two monosyllables are substituted, the effect is often like the fish-ending of the fair woman: e.g.

...smote with his hēel there.  
...come let us nōw sing.  
...nevertheless ye.  
...speaks to them these words.  
...stubborn are yē twain.  
...Castor and I fight.  
...prone on his mouth there.  
...Hades vast had gotten the soul  
of him. Then I

With such exceptions, and in spite of an undue proportion of spondees, Mr. Hallard's hexameters are spirited and smooth. Pentameters he has attempted once, in Id. vi.: but they will not do—the pause in the middle knocks the breath out of the line. Anapaests are used for lyric passages. These lines are made up of anapaests and iambi, and when that rhythm is adhered to, are easy and musical, e.g.

'Though the kids be low in the west and  
the south wind drive the sea.'

But the effect of varying them with lines composed of dactyls and trochees is somewhat irritating, and similar to that produced upon a rider when his horse changes its leg in cantering, as in the line which precedes the above—

'Fair shall Ageanax' convoy to Mitylene  
be.'

Compare also these consecutive lines—

'To a herdsman's love thou didst yield, to  
the voice of Anchises' wooing;  
Oak woods are yonder—here is nought  
but galingale.'

or

'And how to my home I won I know not,  
but fever sore  
Wasted me on my couch for many a night  
and day.'

This inconsistency mars what otherwise would be the prettiest piece in the book, Id. xii. That Idyll, and xiv. xv. xxi. xxiv. are the best. The least successful are iii. x. xviii. xxviii.

Mr. Hallard has stated and carried out his opinion that 'the only chance for a translator of Theocritus is to vary his measures as much as possible.' This may well be disputed; and I cannot but think that he would have done better in many instances if he had adhered more constantly to the blank verse, which admits of infinite variety, and to such easy and musical anapaests as the two first lines of Id. xii.—

'Thou art come, dear youth, art come:  
three nights and days thou hast tarried.  
(Alas! for the sad love-longing that makes  
men old in a day!)

He tells us also that his work has been a labour of love; and one can readily trace throughout the thorough appreciation which he feels for these delightful poems, which he has so sympathetically translated. Those who are familiar with the originals must gratefully recall them line by line to memory, as they read his translations: and let us hope that by reading the latter many more may be induced to court familiarity with the former.  
H. KYNASTON.

#### KEIL'S EDITION OF THE *DE AGRICULTURA*.

*M. Porci Catonis de agri cultura liber: M. Terenti Varronis rerum rusticarum libri tres: ex recensione H. KEILII.* Vol. ii. Fasc. i. Commentarius in Catonis de agri cultura librum. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8vo. Pp. 194. 6 M.

TEN years ago Dr. Keil published a critical edition of Cato's *De Agricultura*, the purpose of which was to restore, so far as possible, the text of the MS. used by Politian and Vettori. This was followed by a similar edition of Varro's work. In 1889 a text of Varro was published in Teubner's series on the basis of this, but with a freer use of conjectural emendation: and in 1891 Keil gave us the second part of the critical commentary, containing a discussion of these emendations proposed by himself or by others on Varro. Now we have the first part of the commentary, treating in a similar way the text of Cato. Before long the Teubner text-edition of Cato is to be published: and finally the critical edition is to be completed by the issue of an index-volume to Cato and Varro, prepared by Krumbiegel and

Rollfus. There are obvious inconveniences in this fashion of publication, and especially in the further delay in issuing a convenient and emended text of Cato; but when the work is done, it will be done thoroughly so far as it goes. It is to be regretted that the veteran scholar, whose earliest published work on the *Rerum Rusticarum Scriptores* dates from forty-five years back, should still renounce the task of explaining the matter of his authors—at times not a little obscure: so that Schneider's edition is still indispensable. But the text and the language (including the orthography) are treated with a completeness which leaves little to be desired.

One or two examples will show the method which has been adopted. In c. lxxiv. the critical edition reads, without any note, 'farinam in mortarium indito, aquae paulatim addito.' Now we have the comment 'aut nota mensurae post aquae excidit...aut, quoniam ne farinae quidem certum pondus indicatum est, aquae paululum scribendum est,' with the quotation of several parallels for each construction.



Schneider left the difficulty untouched. In c. lxxix., where he had printed 'in aenum caldum unguen indito,' he now points out that the true reading must be 'in ahenum caldum in unguen indito,' for the meaning must be 'put into the brazen cauldron into the fat which is heated therein.' In c. xxxvii., where we had 'frumenta †facebis sarias' with the conjecture 'frumenta fac uti sarias,' we now have Vettori's 'frumenta face bis sarias' defended by evidence of two annual hoeings, and of the use elsewhere of *face*. In c. xiii. *incertum* is shown to be meaningless after *centumpodium*, and is rightly rejected. These instances will

suffice to show that the present commentary is an indispensable supplement to the critical edition, and that we may look with confidence to the issue of a much-needed legible text. One of the most valuable portions of this instalment consists in the full discussions of various questions of orthography and of syntax. Attention may be especially called to those on *felix* or *filix*, *spongia* or *spongea*, *stercorare* or *stercerare*; on *i* in the ablative, *im* in the accusative, *is* in the accusative plural; on the indicative in indirect questions, and on the indefinite third person singular.

A. S. WILKINS.

### THE THIRD VOLUME OF KOBERT'S HISTORICAL STUDIES.

*Historische Studien aus dem Pharmakologischen Institute der K. Universität Dorpat.* Vol. iii. Herausgegeben v. DR. RUDOLF KOBERT. Halle: 1893. Pp. 481. 18 M.

THIS volume is the third of the series of Historical Studies issued by Prof. Kobert, but is complete within itself. The first volume, among other articles of interest, contained an essay by Dr. v. Grot on the pharmacological knowledge of the Hippocratic writings with comments by the essayist, and an article by Dr. Demitsch on Russian folk-remedies from the vegetable kingdom. The second volume contained articles of a more special pharmacological interest.

The present and third volume consists of two parts which are quite different in character. The first part contains a catalogue of the dissertations and other works published by members of the medical faculty of Dorpat since its foundation ninety years ago. This catalogue seems to have been drawn up in a very workmanlike manner by Dr. Grünfeld, who is naturally proud thus to testify that his own university has not shown itself to be behindhand in the search after knowledge during the nineteenth century. The works of lecturers and professors are described more fully in an appendix. To students of the history of pharmacology this catalogue will be very useful. The vast stream of scientific discovery must be surveyed to its sources, and all its tributaries likewise, if we who are sailing on the current

are to have a chart for our guidance in the future.

The second portion of the volume before us contains a work of far greater immediate interest. This is a translation into German by Dr. Achundow of Baku (a Persian physician educated in Europe) of the 'Liber fundamentorum pharmacologiae' of Abû Mansûr Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi. This translation from the original text is the first which has been made and is edited with full critical and scientific notes by the translator, Dr. Paul Horn of Strassburg, and Prof. Jolly of Würzburg.

Ignorant as I am not only of the Persian language but also of the very letters in which it is written, it is not for me, even if the original were before me, to express any opinion concerning the translation beyond this—that it reads well and seems to supply all needful explanations, such for example as the Latin names of the drugs and the equivalents of the doses in grammes. The annotations give brief references to other ancient authors and supply a bibliography of the works which are desirable in order to put the student in a proper position for the understanding of Abû Mansûr Muwaffak. I hope the student will not be discouraged when he hears that the list contains the titles of fifty treatises.

Abû Mansûr's work, which begins and ends with a prayer to Almighty God and his Prophet Muhammed, was 'written (so says the colophon) by the bard ('Dichter') Ali Ibn Ahmed Asadî of Tûs in the month Schawwal 447 (December 1055) of the flight

of the Prophet whom God bless! May the owner of this manuscript be fortunate! This manuscript, says Dr. Horn, is of the highest value, as it is written in the oldest handwriting of modern Persian, and presents many refinements to which the commentator calls attention.

However this may be, it is evident to the European reader that the contents of the treatise, which were composed in the tenth century (about 970 A.D.), are of the highest interest for the student of origins. Moreover it throws light upon the stores of Indian, and, by way of the Arabians, on those of European medical lore. Conversely, however, it seems certain that Persian medicine was almost entirely derivative and owed its existence to India and the Arabians: the sheets are marked, for example, according to the Arabian alphabet and it seems probable that in this treatise we have the first work on medicine which was written for the Persian people. In order to collect materials Abû Mansûr tells us he travelled in India—that Eldorado of potent drugs—and from India he brought back also principles of medicine which to him seem as valuable as the Greek.

The Arabians took up the study of medicine in the ninth century, the first important author being Rhazes (850-923 A.D.), who was born in Khorasan in Persia but spent his active life in Bagdad: little of the writings of Rhazes is extant, but we know that he drew a large part of his knowledge from India.

As in theology, so in medicine, theories which came more or less completely and more or less directly from Aristotle held an unbroken sway over men's minds for nearly 2,000 years, and during the middle ages, as interpreted by Galen, they reigned unquestioned. The Galenical doctrine was held by Abû Mansûr to interpret the action of every one in his huge list of drugs whether of animal, vegetable, or mineral origin. This doctrine was based upon the assumption of four fundamental substances: heat, cold, dryness and moisture, which severally or in their various combinations constituted the materials of nature: of these, even the four elements Air (hot-moist), Water (cold-moist), Earth (cold-dry), and Fire (hot-dry)

were made. Remedies then, according to Abû Mansûr, who accepted the traditional doctrines, acted in accordance with their several qualities in respect of heat, cold, moisture and dryness. Acute maladies are hot, as are the blood and yellow gall; chronic maladies are cold, as are mucus and black gall. So the patient, unless his malady were a very obscure one, would come to his physician with the diagnosis ready made, and the duty of his physician or *hakim* would be to supply him with drugs properly compounded to meet the qualities of these humours. Thus, to take one example at hazard, 174. Chirwa<sup>c</sup>. Ricinus communis, castor-oil tree (Persian, Bid-and-schir) makes hot and moist, is of use in colicky pains and palsies: it softens indurations. The oil of the seeds contains more heat and is hotter and more rarifying than olive oil; it is useful in facial palsy, is an emollient to hardnesses in the abdominal organs and gently dissipates the mucus (p. 192).

And so forth: there is much curious and entertaining matter in the descriptions of the virtues of the various articles of the materia medica, of which nearly 600 are described from the vegetable world alone. Wine, I regret to observe, is prescribed by this excellent Mussulmans as strengthening both to mind and body, in health as well as in disease; but he impresses upon us that these advantages are lost if we go beyond the stage of moderation in its use. Of the evils which follow excess Abû Mansûr gives rather a good account; it produces, he says, tremors, fever, lethargies, convulsions, and coma. The wine of the grape, he adds, is by far the best, being generous and warming to the organs; moreover it makes good blood, especially if it have a fine bouquet.

The lore of poisons and antidotes seems to be found among almost all peoples, as we may observe from bushmen to Homer, from Homer to Mithridates, and from Mithridates to the mediaeval clergy; did space permit I might extract much that is interesting on this subject from the treatise of Abû Mansûr. I have however occupied too much space already and must refer the curious reader to the work itself.

T. CLIFFORD ALLEUTT.

BINDLEY'S *DE PRAESCRIPTIONE HAERETICORUM*.

*Tertulliani De Praescriptione Haereticorum: ad Martyras: ad Scapulam:* by T. HERBERT BINDLEY. 8vo. 180 pp. [+72 pp. of advertisements]. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 6s.

THE present volume is a continuation of Mr. Bindley's studies in Tertullian, which have already given us an edition of the *Apologeticus*. It contains the famous treatise *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, to which is appended the pseudo-Tertullianic tract *Adversus omnes Haereses* on the ground that it was the custom of the earlier editors to attach it to the *De Praescriptione* (its proper place, in such arrangements of texts as are convenient for modern work, would be in a Corpus of Treatises against Heresies); Mr. Bindley has also added the two little tracts *ad Martyras* and *ad Scapulam*, which make a very good pair for study though they are not synchronous and have nothing to do with the *De Praescriptione*.

Any one who undertakes to place the text of special treatises of Tertullian before the world in an accessible form and with elucidatory notes deserves our warm thanks, even though his work may not be characterized by originality or profundity. At the same time we could wish that an admirer of Tertullian, as Mr. Bindley undoubtedly is, had selected for his criticism some tract which did not show Tertullian at his very worst, where he is only sparingly witty and almost always unfair. The tract whose arguments Mr. Bindley assiduously defends might just as well be called a tract *De Praescriptione Academicarum* as *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*: and its arguments would silence critical methods of study quite as effectively as they would break the neck of individual heresies. The most famous proverbial expression in the treatise (and Tertullian's line of thought is necessarily rich in epigrams) is the sentence 'Quid ergo Athenis

et Hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae?'—in connexion with which it is to be remembered that the volume before us is published at the Clarendon Press. So he chooses Athens in his riper age, or his editor chooses it for him. There is something ironical in the very title-page.

The critical apparatus, as far as we have examined it, is carefully described; most of it is taken verbatim from Oehler, as are also a great many of the notes. We say *verbatim* and do not add *literatim*, for on the first page which describes the authorities used there are not less than three bad misprints (e.g. l. 7. *solus enim superstes nobis liber intactus a correctione magistrorum manu: lege correctrice*; l. 12. *scatena* vitiis vulgaris codicum Tertulliani familiae propriis; lege *scatens*; l. 20. *concordat hic cordez: lege codex*): this does not speak well for the proof-reading. Another curious misprint will be found on p. 82, l. 11, where the student can exercise himself in the application of the maxim 'proclivi lectioni praestat ardua'; we are told that 'Tertullian no more meant to assert the possession of the Apostolic autographs by Apostolic churches than their possession of the very *charis* used by the Apostles.' I suppose we should read *chairs*.

These are trifling blemishes on what is really a careful and useful book. Many of the notes elucidatory of Tertullian's language and of the African Latinity are excellent. Occasionally there is a philological remark which will hardly be accepted: for example on p. 59 in discussing the form *susum* we are told that this archaic form may be equated with *subvorsum*. This derivation has been for a long time abandoned; the latest explanation is that of Stürzinger (in Wölflin's *Archiv* for 1892, p. 598) who considers it an old participial form of *surgere*. But I do not know how far this view has met with acceptance.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

## THE LANGUAGE OF CHRIST.

## A REPLY.

As Professor Christie has, to some extent, misrepresented (of course, not intentionally) what I have recently written on this

subject, I beg permission to say a few words in reply.

1. He says that my argument 'ignores

the purely formal value of *ὡς γέγραπται* and *αἱ γραφαί*. I have never once referred to the expression *ὡς γέγραπται* in the course of my work. That phrase is generally regarded as implying the canonical authority of any book which is so quoted, but I have nothing to do with that question. What I have said is that the constant appeal made by Christ, on the one hand, to *αἱ γραφαί*, and the ready quotation by the people, on the other hand, from some written source, prove that the ancient Scriptures in some *written* form then circulated among the Jewish people.

2. Professor Christie seems to think that the *γραφαί* in question may have been the Old Testament Scriptures in their original Hebrew form. He tells us that Kautzsch 'infers from Luke iv. 17 that the Hebrew Bible could still be understood by the people.' In maintaining such a position, Kautzsch is opposed to the great body of modern Biblical scholars. I have quoted in my 'Short Proof' statements from Ewald, De Wette, and Bleek, to the effect that Hebrew was then a dead language so far as the Jewish people at large were concerned. Many more authorities might be cited in support of this conclusion. I shall, however, only add one other from a Hebrew scholar who has recently gone from among us. Professor Robertson Smith expresses himself as follows (*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 35),—'Before the time of Christ, the Jews had already ceased to speak Hebrew. In the New Testament, no doubt, we read once and again of the Hebrew tongue as spoken and understood by the people of Palestine; but the vernacular of the Palestinian Jews in the first century was a dialect as unlike to that of the Bible as German is to English—a different language, although a kindred one.'

3. I do not affirm that, if my conclusion is accepted, it would follow that in the Greek Gospels we have 'the sayings of Christ exactly as they were originally uttered.' The many slight differences which occur in the reports of His words given by the Evangelists prove that such is not the case. But what I uphold is that we possess His utterances in the *language* in which they were at first spoken. And surely Professor Christie is mistaken when he declares that, if this conclusion were accepted, 'the difficulties which beset the criticism of the Gospels would remain undisturbed.' I trust I may be pardoned if I see in such a statement another illustration of the prejudice with which this whole question has been so much encum-

bered. For, can it really be denied that, if we still have the words of Christ in the language He actually made use of, the problem of the Gospels is greatly simplified? We then get rid at once of the manifold perplexities which have arisen from the supposed necessity of searching for a *Urevangelium* in some Hebrew dialect. And need I do more than refer to the monstrous theories of Eichhorn and others, in order to show how much has been thus gained?

4. Professor Christie has so written as to convey the impression that I have only proved that the Septuagint was used in writings intended for extra-Palestinian readers. He says: 'The use of the LXX. in quotation by writers addressing non-Palestinian readers proves nothing as to the common use of the LXX. in Galilee.' But he has entirely overlooked a remarkable case of quotation to which (p. 77) I have called special attention. The scene is Jerusalem; the speaker is St. James; the audience are the apostles, and office-bearers as well as ordinary members of the church in the Holy City (Acts xv. 6—21). Now, the argument of St. James on that occasion depends entirely for its cogency on words which he quotes from the Septuagint—words which exist in the Greek version, but are totally wanting in the Hebrew. Could proof more conclusive be desired that the Septuagint was then the Bible used and accepted in Palestine? It seems to me that by no fair or even plausible form of reasoning can this conclusion be resisted.

Christ said to His hearers—'Ἐπεινῶτε τὰς γραφάς'—and the one question is—What were the *γραφαί* to which He referred? I claim to have proved that these could be no other than the Old Testament books in the Septuagint version, and, as a necessary inference, that Christ's habitual language in His public discourses was Greek.

A. ROBERTS.

University, St. Andrews.

[The above reply was submitted to the Reviewer, who appends the following notes.]

1. For *γέγραπται* read *γεγραμμένον ἱστῶν*, found in two of the three passages cited to prove popular quotation from a written source, John ii. 17 and vii. 31. The point is simply that *αἱ γραφαί* and *ὡς γέγραπται* or any of its equivalents means an appeal to Scriptural *authority* and no etymological meaning of 'Holy Writ' proves the circula-



tion of manuscript Scriptures whether Greek or Hebrew.

2. All admit that Hebrew was not the vernacular, but Robertson Smith's readers will know whether Bleek should call it a dead language, while, for reasons indicated, the unintelligibility of Hebrew in the Synagogues seems to me overstated. What Professor Roberts must prove and has not proved is that the unlearned had a *book* of Scripture in their hands. I regard it as established that they knew Holy Writ by oral translation and exposition in Aramaic.

3. Whether Mr. Marshall can establish an Aramaic *Urevangelium* or not, he lends probability to an Aramaic substratum for

many elements of our Gospels. I am more troubled than Professor Roberts by the differences of our Greek Gospels, but I seem to have strained somewhat his words: 'still possess His teachings in the form in which they were originally uttered' (p. 99). I must add that some of us do not regard the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Acts as accurate historical sources. Granting, finally, that in the absence of an Aramaic Old Testament only a Greek version could be in general circulation, the necessity of Professor Roberts' final inference does not penetrate to this side of the Atlantic.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Meadville, Pa., U.S.A.

#### NOTES ON A FRAGMENT OF THE MUSIC OF ORESTES.

The *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. 5, part 3, published in August 1892, contains a facsimile of the musical notation of a small portion of the first chorus of *Orestes*. The MS. is attributed by Dr. Wessely to the age of Augustus, at which time Dionysius of Halicarnassus is known to have possessed a 'score' of this play.

The fragment contains the following words and musical signs:—

##### Ex. 1.

1	Π Ρ	ϸ	Ρ	ϕ	Π
2	Υ Ρ	Ο	Μ	Α	Ι Ζ Μ Α Τ Ε Ρ Ο ϸ
3	Ζ		Ι	Ζ	Ε
4	Α	Κ	Χ	Ε	Υ Ε Ι Ζ Ο Μ Ε Γ Α ϸ
5	Π	Ρ	ϸ	Ι	Ζ
6	ϸ	Ε	Μ	Β	Ο Τ Ο Ι ϸ Ζ Α Ν Α
7	ϸ Ρ	Π	ϸ	Ρ	Ζ ϕ ϸ ϸ
8	ϸ	Α	Κ	Α	Τ Ο Υ ϸ Θ Α ϸ Τ Ι Ν Α
9	(:)	Π	Ρ	Π	
10	Κ	Α	Τ	Ε	Κ Α Υ ϸ Ε Ν ϸ ϸ ϸ
11		Ζ	Ι	Ζ	
12	Ν	ϸ ϸ ϸ	Ω	ϸ ϸ	Π Ο Ν Τ
					?
13	Ρ		ϸ	Ρ	Π
14	...	...	...	...	Ο ϸ Ω Ν

There is not sufficient material here to attempt any reconstruction of the melody; but we obtain a certain amount of insight

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into the Greek method of notation, and something may also perhaps be learnt with regard to rhythm. The words and music are written continuously like prose, as is the case with modern vocal music, the single phrases of which are never written in separate lines.

Alypius tells us, p. 2, that 'the upper notes of the Lydian trope are those for the voice, the lower those for the accompaniment (τῆς κρούσεως).' The latter notes are here mingled with the text: the reason for this will appear later.

The enharmonic and diatonic genera are used indiscriminately.

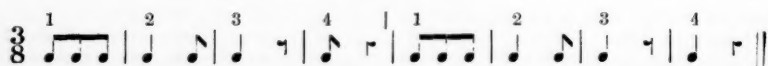
The ictus dot is placed either above the musical sign, or alongside of it, apparently according to the exigencies of space.

In lines 5, 7, and 9 is seen the simultaneous use of the three signs showing pitch, value, and accent.

When two or more successive syllables are to be sung to the same note, the note is only written over the first, as in lines 3 and 4. When a single syllable is to be sung to two notes, the vowel sound is written twice, as ω, ως in line 12. The Paean discovered at Delphi also shows both of these features. The translation of the few notes of melody, which are in the Lydian notation, offers no difficulty, while the reconstruction of the rhythm can only be conjectural, owing to the dilapidated condition of the papyrus. I venture however to suggest the following reconstruction, with an explanation of the principles on which I have made it.







which would correspond with an ordinary modern period, composed of two tetrapodic cola.

In the second colon of vv. 2, 5, and 6, in which two long syllables occur in succession,

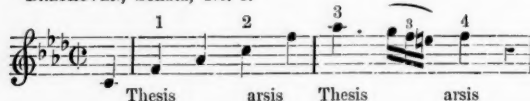


Without syncopation, it is impossible to translate the ninth dochmius into an intelligible modern musical rhythm, unless we take each long as of three-time value:

U L L L L

Syncopation (in the musical sense) is no modern invention. It is found in the oldest folksongs, and is a striking feature in the *pressus* of the Gregorian neumes.

BEETHOVEN, Sonata, No. 1.



Where the accentuation of the pairs of feet is not thus shown by the notation, as in those pieces in which each bar contains only a single foot, the performer generally instinctively feels it: if he does not, or if he gives the wrong order of accentuation, his performance is insipid and unsatisfactory.

But modern composers, especially Beethoven, Schumann, and Chopin, are very fond of disturbing the regularity of this succession by means of *sforzandos*, etc. which make

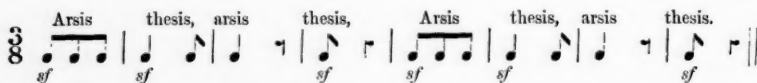
I have made use of syncopation. τινάξας δαίμων, v. 5, by this means corresponds exactly with Seidler's ninth form of dochmius; U L L —, or in musical notation:

In modern music, not only does each foot contain its thesis and arsis, but of each pair of feet one is slightly more accented than the other. In the majority of instrumental movements, the tetrapodic cola occupy the space of two bars; hence each bar contains two feet, one of which forms the thesis, and the other the arsis, of the bar.

Example of ordinary tetrapodic colon:

accents occur in unexpected places, in order to produce special effects on the hearer.

It has occurred to me that the dochmius may possibly have formed one of the Greek methods of disturbing the regularity of accentuation, thus producing restless effects, such as are to be found in many of the works of the great modern masters: *i.e.* that (if my reconstruction of the rhythm of the fragment of *Orestes* is anywhere near the mark) the accentuation would be something of the following nature:



which, in its rhythmical disturbance, might produce something of the same emotional effect on the Greek mind that the overpowering syncopated *sforzando* chords succeeding one another in Beethoven's Eroica symphony produce on us.

V. 6 is broken by instrumental notes. As neither the ictus nor time value of these are given, I have merely written them in conjecturally. They are doubtless ritornels, the exact nature of which it is impossible in our present state of knowledge to discover. An

important passage occurs in the treatise by *Anonymus* (Bellermann, § 68, p. 78) in which it is explained that two kinds of notation are employed, one for the song, the other for the instrument (ἐπὶ λέξεως γὰρ καὶ κρούσεως).

‘It is necessary that there should be this difference of notation, since κῶλα are interposed in songs. The melody will properly begin, and be made known, and recognized, through its employment on the instrument (ἐν κρούσει). And the notation (στίξις) is not



restricted to what is sung in words (ῥητῶ): but prolongation of the melody is produced on the (single) syllables, and variety is brought about through the intercepting or succeeding colon.

Vincent (*Notices* p. 35) considers that the κῶλα here are passages for the instrument alone, as opposed to κρούματα which are the instrumental accompaniment to the voice.

From the above quotation it would seem:

1. That there could be an introductory ritornel on the instrument, before commencing the song, just as in an ordinary modern song.

2. That syllables were extended, in order to produce vocal melody without words, as in the neumae of the ancient church music, and in the florid passages of Italian opera: (but no examples occur in the fragments of music known to us of more than three notes to a syllable).

3. That monotony, which would be produced by an unbroken flow of vocal music, was avoided by the introduction of ritornels during the course of the song, as is the case in modern music.

Since these ritornels occurred between the vocal passages, it seems natural that they should be written on the same line as the words, as is done in our fragment. It is quite possible that the interposed ritornels were left to be extemporized, and merely a single note, or a few notes, were given as a cue to show where they were to occur. It will be observed that the single notes at the end of vv. 1, 2, 3, and in the middle of v. 5 of our fragment do not harmonize with the vocal note which immediately precedes them: but they do, except in one instance, with the note which follows them. Is it possible that they were the *concluding* notes of the ritornels, and were written for the same purpose as the concluding shake of a modern cadenza is written, i.e. to show the conductor when to bring in his orchestra?

While no information has come down to us with regard to the treatment of the instrumental accompaniment, a passage in Plutarch's 'Περὶ Μουσικῆς' seems to prove that the lyre was not always played in unison with the voice: for he tells us that the 'ancients' used the *trite* as the accompaniment to the *parhypate* (producing the interval of a fifth), 'Ὅτι δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀπέχοντο τῆς τρίτης ἐν τῷ σπονδαίῳ

ζοντι τρόπῳ, φανερόν ποιεῖ ἢ ἐν τῇ κρούσει γινομένη χρήσις: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε αὐτὴ πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τὴν κεχρησθῆναι συμφώνως μὴ γνωρίζοντας τὴν χρῆσιν.' Westphal's edition, ch. 14, p. 13. From the same chapter it appears that they also used the intervals of the second, fourth, and sixth in the same way. The accompaniment seems to have always been above the voice, not below as with us: and it is probable that it was extemporized and never written down, while only a few notes of the ritornels were given in writing, as we have already seen.

The question has been asked of late why the musical compositions of the Greeks have so entirely disappeared, while so many of their dramas and poems have been preserved. After the fall of Greek independence, through the Macedonian and Roman conquests, the dramas and poems of the 'classical' school were no longer sung on the stage, which was given over to a degenerate form of music and dancing, intended merely to amuse the ignorant mob. The musical notation was of such a complicated nature, that even the most learned men would not be able to read and enjoy a 'score' without hearing it; while, on the other hand, the noble thoughts expressed in the words of the dramas were easily conveyed by writing, and could be appreciated without their being publicly performed.

Hence, the scribes, who were responsible for multiplying and handing down to posterity copies of the Greek classics, would, while taking every care with the text, omit to copy a number of musical signs, which neither they nor their employers any longer understood and appreciated. Thus, the texts of the dramas were preserved in the libraries of the learned, while the music was entirely lost. Whether, if we were fortunate enough to discover sufficient of this ancient music to be enabled to perform some of it, as it was performed in its own day, it would appeal to modern ears, is very doubtful. No art varies in its methods of expression so much as music. European music seems as barbarous to Orientals, as theirs does to us: and even the music which delighted our forefathers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seems antiquated and expressionless to the general public of to-day. How much more then would that of 400 years before Christ appear strange and weird to us!

C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE SIDE-ENTRANCES TO THE  
GREEK THEATRE.

IN Mr. Haigh's interesting review of Bodensteiner's dissertation in the April number of the *Classical Review*, one of the most weighty of the arguments brought forward against an elevated stage was passed over without the consideration that it justly merits. Bodensteiner concludes his article with the statement that his investigation of the dramas has convinced him (1) that there was no elevated stage in the theatre of the fifth century, and (2) that there were only two *πάροδοι*, the same for both actors and chorus. The latter does not necessarily follow from the former, for we might still believe that there were doors in the *παρασκήνια*. No warrant for this belief, however, is found in the existing ruins. For this reason Dörpfeld makes the second proposition an essential part of his doctrine. On the other hand, once prove that actors and chorus used the same side-entrances, and you have made anything but an exceedingly low platform, that is practically none at all, an absolute impossibility. For no one would assert that at every entrance and exit the actors had to ascend or descend a flight of steps leading to even Mr. Haigh's stage, only six or seven feet high. Now Bodensteiner believes that he has been able, on the evidence of the dramas themselves, to prove this most important point. For this reason I have thought it worth while to submit to those who are interested in the stage question a summary of this portion of his article.

All writers on scenic antiquities who have given especial attention to the dramas, G. Hermann alone I think excepted, have believed that actors sometimes used the entrances to the orchestra. Groddeck, Buttman, and Geppert have even claimed that this was the rule, but the more orthodox have regarded it as an exceptional if not an unlawful proceeding. They were loath to admit that Aristophanes would violate a rule of Pollux. In recent years, however, there has been a growing tendency to permit the dramas to interpret themselves, unhampered by the restrictions supposed to have been put upon them by the Athenian Professor of Antiquities. Even Müller admits a good many cases of the use

of the orchestra by actors, though he believes that it was attended by the difficulty of mounting a stage. Mr. Haigh is still more conservative. He asserts that an actor makes his entrance only once through the orchestra (Carion in the *Plutus*), and very rarely his exit (citing the final scene in the *Eumenides* and *Wasps*). He even claims to prove (*Attic Theatre*, p. 175) from the dramas that the stage had its own side-entrances. All that he does prove, in fact, is that actors often enter from the sides, which no one has ever disputed. Bodensteiner has done the service of having brought together and classified all the passages from the dramas that bear upon this question. The following are his results, briefly stated, with comments of his own. It should be borne in mind that in the preceding part of his paper he has brought out a series of weighty arguments against an elevated stage, and has found nothing in the dramas that make against it.

I. All chariots and horses must enter through the orchestra, following the highway that leads past the palace in the background. This road is the *ἀμαξήρυξ τριβος* of *Orestes* 1251, along which the semi-choruses are commanded to go. One might consider that corpses borne on biers would fall into this class, but our author, with his usual good judgment, refrains from doing so, although in three of the six instances cited it seems necessary, for other reasons, that the actors should be in the orchestra. Mr. Haigh believes that chariots and horses appeared on the high stage. How this could be managed on a platform only 7½ to 8 ft. deep he does not attempt to explain. Apart from the difficulty, imagine how ridiculous the scene in the *Agamemnon* would be, where Clytemnestra makes so much ado about a strip of carpet, only two or three feet long, for her husband to walk upon, when he might easily, if he had had anything of the activity of Mr. Haigh's choruses, have stepped lightly from his chariot into the doorway. But perhaps Mr. Haigh's stage is a deeper one. At any rate one may fall back upon the scene in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, where the choreutae assist Iphigenia to alight. Though the passage may be an interpolation, yet the action would have been as difficult with a high stage at one time as at another. It is interesting to find that Timoleon, ac-

according to Plutarch, was accustomed to drive into the theatre in his chariot in order to address the people. Did he too drive in on the high stage?

II. Actors who enter or depart in company with the chorus must use the same passage. Two instances are given of the former, eighteen of the latter, all of them as certain as the three admitted by Mr. Haigh.

III. When the choreutae hold a special relation toward an actor, as in the *Ion*, where they are the servants of Creusa, they would naturally enter and depart in the same way. So in the *Eumenides* the Furies follow on the track of Orestes like hounds on a fresh scent. The only alternative in all these cases is to make the chorus mount the stage in order to be with the actors. Mr. Haigh prefers this alternative.

IV. Incoming actors seem to require a long time to reach the place of action. Hence they enter by the *πάροδοι*. Some thirty cases are cited and discussed, but only three are accepted as evidence. The others admit of no better test than merely the number of verses spoken. In this matter it is fair to point out that Bodensteiner proceeds throughout the chapter with the greatest caution.

V. An incoming actor who is announced by the chorus is often not seen at first by an actor already present. The use of the *πάροδοι* offers an easy explanation of such cases. It never happens that an incoming actor, announced by an actor who is present, cannot be seen by the chorus also.

VI. Similar to the above are the cases in which incoming actors cannot see all who are present. Furthermore it is the usual practice for incoming actors to accost the chorus first, though there are many exceptions. Yet when the incoming actor is unknown to all those who are present he *always* addresses the chorus. This points to the same conclusion—that actors entering from the sides always find themselves nearer to the chorus than to the other actors. Bodensteiner, however, makes use of only the cases of this class that are exceptionally clear.

VII. A few times the chorus on entering complains of the steepness of the path. This is explained by the fact that in the earliest theatre at Athens of which we have any remains the *πάροδοι* have a considerable upward slope toward the orchestra. Bodensteiner would explain in the same way the similar references on the part of

actors, and the cases *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* in Aristophanes that have been interpreted as meaning 'approach' and 'depart.' Oehmichen has just given another explanation (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.* 1894, 362)—that the actors are ascending the ramps leading to the top of the proscenium, while the chorus climb to the so-called 'thymele' in the orchestra; but it is hardly necessary to reckon with one who still believes in the latter.

It is shown that actors use the approaches to the orchestra about forty times, accepting only those instances that seem exceedingly probable. Still another argument might be adduced from the street scenes in Aristophanes, which resemble closely the New Comedy. In these there can be but one entrance on either side—the street that passes in front of the house through the scene of action. Granting that the *πάροδοι* were used by actors in all these cases, can it be considered an exceptional occurrence? A hundred other passages which are most easily understood on the same disposition of the actors at once suggest themselves. Furthermore there is no statement in any ancient writer that contradicts this view for the Greek theatre. Even Pollux, if rightly understood, says nothing against it.

Mr. Haigh asserts that the dramas are not a trustworthy source of information on questions of scenic antiquities. In this I quite agree with him in general. But we must make distinctions between questions of scenic antiquities pure and simple, and questions of interpretation. We can tell little from Shakespeare's text as to the scenery and scenic appliances of his day, but the movements of the actors, their relative positions on the stage, the time and manner of their entrances and exits we can almost always determine within certain limits. This is especially true of the Greek dramas, which to a stage manager would offer very few difficulties in this regard. Now fortunately for us in trying to settle the stage question, the Greek drama had a chorus which performed a peculiar function of its own and also frequently took part in the action. In determining the movements of actors and chorus we are able also to establish certain conditions as regards the space in which they acted. In the first place the actors generally stand in the neighbourhood of the background, though they sometimes advance to the position of the chorus. The chorus on the other hand are generally considerably farther away from the background, though they sometimes

approach it and even go through the door. This we learn from the dramas themselves, and find confirmed in Pollux. But the most imperative condition imposed by the dramas is that there should be no hindrance to the free and frequent intermingling of actors and chorus. This is in accordance with what Aristotle says in the *Poetics* 18: καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἔνα δὲ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μόνιον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, though Aristotle of course has in mind a still closer relation. This is a perfectly legitimate conclusion to draw from the text of the plays. We should apply exactly the same principle to Shakespeare or any other dramatist with perfect right. That the question of the high stage is involved does not affect the principle.

Since the dramas and the ruins lead to the same conclusion, and since no writer before the Roman era refers to a stage, the real question at issue is the explanation of Vitruvius and the tradition that has continued down to our own times. The citations from ancient authorities given by Mr. Haigh in defence of the old theory are either misunderstood or misapplied.

EDWARD CAPPS.

*The University of Chicago.*

*Tell el Amarna.* By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L. London: Methuen and Co. 1894. Pp. iv. 46: and 43 plates. Large 4to. £1.

THIS volume deals principally with matters that are not within the province of this *Review*; and is noticed here solely on account of the author's views about the connexion of Egypt with the Hellenic districts of the Mediterranean. These views are set forth in a passage which had better be quoted at length. It runs thus:—

§ 28. When I first went to Tell el Amarna, I aimed at finding the rubbish heaps, where the waste was thrown from the palace. I searched all around the palace region, but could not find any such remains; while clearing, however, on the desert, about three furlongs from the palace, I found a wide stretch of waste heaps. As they are on the nearest open ground to the palace, and contained scattered throughout the whole area dozens of objects with the names of the royal family, and hundreds of pieces of imported Ægean pottery, it seems evident that these are the palace waste heaps which I sought; though probably mixed with waste from other large houses in the neighbourhood. The extent of the heaps was about 600 feet by 400 feet, and the depth varied from 4 feet to a mere sprinkling, probably averaging more than 1 foot.

Nearly all the broken rings, &c., with cartouches that I obtained, were found here; these

comprised a few of Tahutmes III and Amenhotep III (doubtless brought here), and about 80 or 90 of Akhenaten,<sup>1</sup> his family, and his successor, Ka-smenkh-ka; on most of the latter, however, he called himself 'beloved of Akhenaten,' and they date, therefore, during a co-regency, or soon after Akhenaten's death, when his successor still trusted to his name for support. Thus it is clear that the mounds belong to a very little longer time than the reign of Akhenaten; and as he only reigned here for twelve years, everything found in the mounds was probably thrown away within fifteen years, at about 1400 B.C.

§ 29. The principal importance of these mounds was quite unexpected. So soon as we began to dig we found Ægean pottery and so-called Phœnician glass; and the quantities of pieces of these materials prove how usual they were at the time. The glass vases ...

§ 30. The Ægean pottery is however more important, as there is no indication that it was ever made in Egypt; and its presence therefore shews the coeval civilization of the Ægean countries with which it is always associated. The total quantity of pieces found was 1329 in the waste heaps, 9 in the palace, and only 3 fragments of one vase elsewhere, in house 11.

§ 31. It is almost needless to observe that this discovery and dating of Ægean pottery stands on an entirely different footing to those which have been previously made in Egypt and Greece. All previous correlations have depended on single vases, or on single scarabs found associated with things from other sources; and hence (to any one without a practical knowledge of how completely things are of one period, in almost all cases when they are associated), it may seem as if the dating all depended on isolated objects, any of which might have been buried centuries after it was made.<sup>2</sup> Here we have not to consider isolated objects, about which any such questions can arise, nor a small deposit which might be casually disturbed, nor a locality which has ever been reoccupied; but we have to deal with thousands of tons of waste heaps, with pieces of hundreds of vases, and about a hundred absolutely dated objects with cartouches. And when we see that in all this mass, which is on a scale that is beyond any possibility of accidental or casual mixture throughout, there is not a single object which can be dated later than about 1380 B.C., we may henceforward remember that there are few facts in all archaeology determined with a more overwhelming amount of evidence than the dating of this earlier style of Ægean pottery to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

This raises two distinct questions. The first is whether the Ægean pottery is contemporary with those kings. The second is whether those kings reigned about 1400 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Akhenaten (Akh-en-Aten) is Mr. Petrie's name for Khu-en-Aten or Chu-en-Aten. I follow his spelling throughout, simply to avoid confusion.

<sup>2</sup> This was Mr. Petrie's own hypothesis in dating the Ægean vase from the tomb of Maket at Kahun. See *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 24:—'The scarabs must have been nearly all old ones when buried. The latest is of Tahutmes III, or 1450 B.C., and probably contemporary with him, by the style of it: whereas the character of the beads, of the pottery, and of the coffin all shew that two or three centuries had elapsed since the scarabs were made.'



Mr. Petrie does not say anything at all about the second question. He takes that for granted. And I do not propose to discuss it here, as I shall presently be dealing with Egyptian chronology as a whole.

As regards the first question he seems to rest his case upon the following points:— That hundreds of pieces of Ægean pottery were found in the same rubbish-heaps with dozens of objects bearing the cartouches of those kings. That these rubbish-heaps are formed of the rubbish from the palace occupied by those kings. That these rubbish-heaps have not yielded any objects bearing the cartouches of later kings.

Now for the evidence. In § 31 he says that the rubbish-heaps have yielded about a hundred absolutely dated objects with cartouches. In § 28 he says that nearly all the broken rings, &c., with cartouches that he obtained, were found there; and that these comprised a few of Tahutmes III and Amenhotep III, and about eighty or ninety of Akhenaten, his family, and his successor, Ra-smenkh-ka. In plate XIV., entitled 'Scarabs, rings, &c.,' and in plate XV., entitled 'Scarabs, &c.,' he gives three broken specimens with the cartouche of Tahutmes III, eight with the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and then a great many with the cartouches of Akhenaten, his family, and his successor, Ra-smenkh-ka; and in § 65 on p. 29 he refers to some of these as coming from the rubbish-heaps. Taken together, these statements seem to show that the 'absolutely dated objects with cartouches' are nothing but scarabs, rings, etc.

Such objects cannot be absolutely dated by the cartouches on them. That is certain; for many of them have the cartouches of kings who reigned at different dates. Thus, for example, there is a plaque in the British Museum, no. 16,580, with the cartouches of Tahutmes I, Tahutmes III and Seti I; and a scarab, no. 16,796, with the cartouches of Tahutmes III and Psammitichos.

But, supposing that these objects were made in the time of those kings, there is nothing to show that they were thrown into the rubbish-heaps then. Mr. Petrie says that the rubbish-heaps are formed of the rubbish from the palace. But in § 28 he admits that they are not in 'the palace region' at all, but on the desert, about three furlongs away. He meets the objection by saying that this was the nearest open ground to the palace. To judge by the plans, this statement is disputable; but taking it for granted, it hardly clears the difficulty. He then proceeds to say that 'it

seems evident' that the rubbish-heaps belonged to the palace, inasmuch as they contained objects with royal cartouches and pieces of Ægean pottery. But this is reasoning in a circle. His main argument is that the Ægean pottery must be contemporary with the kings who lived in the palace, because this pottery was found in the rubbish-heaps belonging to the palace; and here he argues that the rubbish-heaps must belong to the palace, because they contained the Ægean pottery. As for the objects with royal cartouches, their presence here will not establish a connexion between the palace and the rubbish-heaps; for similar objects have been found all over the site. He says that he found about a hundred of them in the rubbish-heaps; but in § 100 on p. 43 he says that he found 331 altogether. Quantities have been found by other hands in recent years; and none of them can have come from the rubbish-heaps, if he is right in supposing that these heaps were still intact.

Some other evidence will throw a little light upon the question of how and when these rubbish-heaps were formed.

Besides the fragments of Ægean pottery, Mr. Petrie found a number of fragments of Egyptian pottery with Egyptian inscriptions. On plate XXI. there are 59 inscriptions in hieroglyphic, which are described as 'jar-sealings'; and on plates XXII. to XXV. there are 101 inscriptions in hieratic, which are described as 'jar-inscriptions.' There is also a list of 'jar-inscriptions' in § 75 on p. 32; and this shows that 130 were found. The sealings and the inscriptions both contain the names of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV, Akhenaten, etc.

Now, if the Ægean fragments were contemporary with the Egyptian fragments, the probabilities are that some of them would have Egyptian inscriptions. But Mr. Petrie does not allege that there is a single letter of Egyptian, either hieroglyphic or hieratic, on any one of his 1341 fragments of Ægean pottery.

Again, if these Ægean and Egyptian fragments were contemporary, the probabilities are that they would have been mixed up together. But this was not the case. In § 30 Mr. Petrie says that 1329 of the Ægean fragments came from the rubbish-heaps, nine from the palace, and three from house 11; and in § 13 on p. 7 he speaks of finding Ægean fragments at the palace in the passage in the wall. In § 96 on p. 42 he says that the jar-inscriptions were collected from many different parts of the

town; and in § 97 on p. 42 and § 12 on p. 7 he says that some were found in the great hall of the palace, and that many were found in one of the small halls. In § 47 on p. 23 he says that a few of the jar-sealings were found in house 17. That is all he says about the finding of the jar-inscriptions and jar-sealings; but in what he says about rubbish-heaps, he makes it clear that none were found there.

Thus the fragments of Ægean pottery cannot have been associated with these fragments of Egyptian pottery. But they were associated with the fragments of Phœnician glass. In § 29 on p. 16 Mr. Petrie says that 750 of the fragments of this glass came from the rubbish-heaps, thirty-eight from the palace, and none from elsewhere; the corresponding figures for Ægean pottery being 1329 from the rubbish-heaps, nine from the palace, and three from elsewhere. In § 58 on p. 27 he says that 'this style of glass descended into Greek times, and was largely used in Magna Græcia; but the later styles are all coarser, and have not the brilliancy and flat face that mark these earlier products.' I have examined the specimens which he has deposited at the British Museum, and some others elsewhere; but I cannot see that they are superior to picked specimens from Greek tombs of about 600 B.C. or afterwards. In § 29 on p. 16 he says that it is 'almost certain' that the so-called Phœnician vases from Tell el Amarna were made on the spot, as factories for glass-workings were found there; and in § 58 on p. 27 he speaks of them as 'firmly dated' to 1400 B.C. But he does not allege that a single fragment of this glass was found in or near the factories for glass-working. And here the *Ἰλαῖν* 'Αθήναζε argument can only lead to reasoning in a circle. If he contends that foreign glass would not be purchased at a place with factories for glass-working, he must assume that the glass belongs to the period when the factories were at work; and this is the very point that is at issue. Moreover, there is evidence of importation; for in § 30 on p. 16 he admits that eighty-one fragments of Phœnician pottery were found in the rubbish-heaps with the Phœnician glass.

Thus the facts appear to be that the Ægean pottery was mixed up with Phœnician pottery and Phœnician glass, but was not mixed up with the Egyptian pottery bearing the inscriptions of Amenhotep III and his successors. No doubt, Ægean pottery was found in the rubbish-heaps in company with about a hundred scarabs,

rings, etc., bearing the cartouches of those kings; but such objects have been found all over the site, and could easily have got into the rubbish-heaps at any date, these heaps being in many places 'a mere sprinkling' and nowhere more than four feet in depth, as Mr. Petrie himself admits in § 28. There is then the question why there were not any scarabs, rings, etc., bearing the cartouches of later kings; and the answer seems to be that no later kings resided at Tell el Amarna. In § 31 Mr. Petrie asserts that the locality has never been reoccupied since Horemheb destroyed the buildings of Akhenaten; and most likely this is true as regards the royal family. But there is nothing to show that it is true as regards the ordinary population. In fact, these Ægean and Phœnician remains may be adduced as evidence that the place was occupied in later times; and this evidence cannot be dismissed with the remark that the locality has never been reoccupied, for that assumes the point at issue.

Throughout the book Mr. Petrie writes as though the whole question of the Ægean pottery and the Ægean civilization could be settled by evidence from Egyptian sources only. But, even within these narrow limits, he fails to reconcile the inferences he draws from Tell el Amarna with those he drew from Gurob and Kahun.

Mr. Petrie found some false-necked vases of Ægean ware in two deposits at Gurob; and he fixed the dates of these deposits at 1400 B.C. and 1350 B.C. respectively, because one of them contained a kohl-tube with the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and the other contained a pendant with the cartouche of Tut-ankh-amen.<sup>1</sup> Now, in § 86 on p. 39 he makes Amenhotep III the father of Akhenaten; and in § 97 on p. 42 he makes Tut-ankh-amen a son-in-law of Akhenaten, and says that he succeeded Ra-smenkh-ka. Thus the dates assigned to this Ægean ware from Gurob just cover the period assigned to the Ægean ware from Tell el Amarna. That being so, this Ægean ware from Gurob ought to belong to the same class as the Ægean ware from Tell el Amarna. But that is not the case. In § 30 on p. 17 Mr. Petrie says:—

We see that half the Ægean ware is of piriform vases, which are most commonly found in Rhodes, and nearly the other half is of globular vases, which are peculiarly Cypriote; the balance, only eight per

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, § 37 on pp. 16, 17. Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. p. 274.

cent. of the whole, is not distinctive of any other locality, and there is no type specially Mykenian... The absence of certain types from the large quantity of many hundreds of vases which have furnished this mass of fragments, is worth notice. There are none of the small false-necked vases of flat, low, form, which are commonest at Gurob..... In short, the impression is that this pottery belongs to an entirely different trade route to that of Gurob; that this came down with the Syrian coasting vessels from Cyprus and Rhodes, while the Gurob Ægean ware belongs rather to Greece, and came along the African coast to the Fayum.

Appearances are rather against a theory that people on the west bank of the Nile imported Ægean ware from the west of the Ægean *via* Libya, while their contemporaries on the east bank imported it from the east of the Ægean *via* Syria. And, unluckily, this pretty theory leaves Kahun on the wrong side of the river. The Ægean ware from Tell el Amarna belongs to the same class as the Ægean ware from Kahun; and Kahun is close to Gurob.

In the tomb of Maket at Kahun there was a vase of Ægean ware with a pattern of ivy leaves. Mr. Petrie fixed the date of this tomb at about 1100 B.C.: and then proceeded to assign this date to the earliest Ægean vases with such decoration, saying that the false-necked Ægean vases with geometric ornament were considerably older, their date being fixed by his discoveries at Gurob.<sup>1</sup> But now at Tell el Amarna he has found a fragment of an Ægean vase with a pattern of ivy leaves—fg. 106 on plate XXIX.—and fragments of others with similar decoration. And in §§ 30, 31 on pp. 16, 17 he says that these fragments are from the rubbish-heaps, and that the rubbish-heaps did not contain a single object which could be dated later than about 1380 B.C. He discreetly avoids any allusion to Kahun.

In conclusion Mr. Petrie assures us that 'we may henceforward remember that there are few facts in all archaeology determined with a more overwhelming amount of evi-

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Mahun, Kahun and Gurob*, § 45 on p. 24. If then we take 1100 B.C. as a middle date for the Phœnician pottery and the Ægean vase, it will be reasonable. This consorts well with the dating for other Ægean pottery. The earliest geometrical false-necked vases are about 1400 B.C.; that early style appears to die out about 1200 B.C.; and therefore the earliest figure pattern, such as this ivy, may well belong to a century later. Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. p. 273. This tomb belongs to about 1100 B.C., or within fifty years of that either way. p. 274. We have then carried back a chain of examples in sequence, showing that the earliest geometrical pottery of Mykenæ begins about 1400 B.C. and is succeeded by the beginning of natural designs about 1100 B.C. p. 275. We have dealt with facts which are now hardly controvertible as to the well fixed age of these vases.

dence than the dating of this earlier style of Ægean pottery to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.' We may also remember that what is described here as 'this earlier style of Ægean pottery' was described just as confidently in his former works as the later style that followed the period of geometric ornament. And we may also remember that the pottery which is dated here to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., was dated there with no less certainty to the beginning of the eleventh century.

CECIL TORR.

GUHL UND KONER, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*, vi<sup>te</sup> vollständig neu bearbeitete Auflage, von RICHARD ENGELMANN. Pp. xii. + 896, with 1061 illustrations. 8vo. 18 Mk. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung: Berlin. 1894.

The original Guhl and Koner is too well known to need either description or criticism.

It first appeared in 1861, Guhl dying very shortly after, and ran through five editions, the last appearing in 1882. The familiar English translation is from the third edition of 1873 (?). Koner died in 1887, when his work was already in need of reediting. It is difficult to grasp the full difficulty of Dr. Engelmann's task. In 1882 the excavations at Hissarlik, Mycenæ, Olympia could scarcely be said to have led to results definite enough to be incorporated in any part of the book save that on architecture. Now the progress of excavation and the opening up of such sites as Pergamon, Eleusis, and Epidaurus has made everything antiquated which does not give them full consideration.

One may say at once that Dr. Engelmann has been singularly successful in retaining a large portion of the original text, and yet in incorporating concise accounts of recent work.

The result is that the new work, instead of being grown out of knowledge, is (apart from being printed on slightly larger paper) only some fifty pages bulkier than the fifth edition.

The increase in size is entirely due to the additional illustrations, of which almost 500 have been inserted. They much improve the book, being for the most part excellent phototypes on a larger and more generous scale than the old cramped woodcuts.

Students will be grateful to Dr. Engel-

mann for the reproduction of a large number of photographs and drawings from the collections of the German Archaeological Institutes at Athens and Rome. The illustrations of the buildings on the Acropolis are especially welcome. They give cuts taken from photographs of the staircase in the north wall, the columns built into it, the Cyclopean wall, the foundations of the old palace and temple and the foundations of the Parthenon and Propylaea, as they were during the excavations. The better known monuments are also well illustrated and are accompanied by the most recent plans.

Recent archaeological publications have also been laid under contribution, e.g. good reproductions are given of the pictures of ships in the *Jahrbuch des Inst.* vol. iv. (with a description revised by Dr. Assmann), of the wall-paintings from the 'Casa Tiberina,' the gold cups from Vaphio, and the silver 'siege' relief from Mycenae.

The text, considering the amount of new illustrations introduced, has been very little altered. It is divided into chapters instead of the old sections, which is a distinct improvement. The greatest innovation is the introduction of a series of new chapters on important sites; Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, the Acropolis of Athens, Olympia, Dodona, Delos, Delphi, Epidaurus, Samothrace, Pergamon and Pompeii. This alteration has introduced a cross division into the plan of the work, for many of the buildings described have to be mentioned a second time in the chapters giving the history of architecture and fortification.

The work as a whole is a great improvement on the old edition, and will no doubt sustain its deserved popularity. The most obvious criticism is that too many of the old woodcuts remain. They look poor and inadequate by the side of the new phototypes, and are in many cases painfully inadequate. Many of them, e.g. well-known statues and reliefs, could be replaced at once by phototypes.

Many of the descriptions, especially those of the new illustrations, strike one as inadequate, but this is due to the desire to cut the text down as much as possible, and does not affect the value of the book as a popular *résumé*.

As is usual in German popular works, the only references are to the sources of the illustrations, and even these are given in the most abbreviated form. Among them we have noticed a curious misprint. 'Cameroon, The Baths of the Rom.' due no

doubt to the influence of German colonial enthusiasm on the printer's spelling.

The new Guhl and Koner, though far from perfect, fills a place of its own. It has not the wealth of illustration of either Baumeister's *Denkmäler* or Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, but it gives a connected account, covering a very large field of classical antiquities and can be read as a whole, which is no small advantage.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

#### MAPS OF ROMAN BRITAIN, ETC.

*Atlas Antiquus* by H. KIEPERT. (Berlin: Reimer) 1893. New edition.

*Atlas Antiquus*, entworfen und bearbeitet von D. W. SIEGLIN. (Perthes: Gotha) 1893.

*Ist Irland jemals von einem römischen Heere betreten worden?* von W. PFITZNER. (Neustrelitz) 1893.

ANY opinion of ancient geography which Mr. Kiepert pronounces is worth the careful consideration of scholars, and this may be our excuse for selecting for notice a little piece of his *Atlas* which has special interest for Englishmen. Roman Britain finds a place in two of Mr. Kiepert's maps and the workmanship is excellent. There are a few points on which the critic may pounce. A few places are dubious: the position of Praetorium, for instance, is unknown and, if the Portus Gabrantovicum was on the south side of Flamborough head, it was a singularly bad harbour. The only port on the Yorkshire coast which the Romans are likely to have occupied is the shelter of Filey, on the shore of which Roman remains were found about 1857. A few roads, too, are omitted or included with doubtful reason: there is, for instance, no authority for a road direct from Sarum to Bath, and there is some authority for various roads in Wales. More important and more difficult is the question of demarcation of provinces. Mr. Kiepert puts Britannia Superior, we observe, in the west, and Inferior in the east. We should prefer south and north, making Lower Britain a geographical anticipation of Northumbria. The frontier must remain uncertain: it may, as one scholar has conjectured, have run from the Humber to the Solway, or it may have ended on the Lancashire coast, but it is fairly certain, if only from the evidence of Dio and certain African inscriptions, that York and Hadrian's



Wall formed its substance. We are equally doubtful about Mr. Kiepert's division of fourth century Britain. Like Horsley and others before him, he takes the sketch in the manuscripts of the *Notitia* to be a map and thus, *inter alia*, gets Valentia into Wales. We do not believe that the sketch is a map and, despite theories about Offa's Dyke, we do not see how Valentia can have been elsewhere than in the north. But these are vexed questions: the general accuracy of Mr. Kiepert's map is hardly affected by our criticisms, which are rather a testimony to its merits.

Mr. Sieglin's map is larger, and, as a piece of cartography, is most admirable. As a map of Roman Britain, it seems to us open to serious criticism. Names are retained from Richard of Cirencester: we have, for example, once more the slowly dying legend of a Roman road to St. David's. That road is most improbable. The patriotic zeal of Gerard of Wales, and the undergraduate wit of Bertram of Copenhagen have foisted it into some of our maps: otherwise there is no reason to believe that Romans ever dwelt in the strange land that lies beyond Carmarthen. Mr. Sieglin has other uncertain theories. Pinnata Castra, Ravonia, Delgovicia, Rigodunum, Petuaria and more such place-names are located with undesirable precision: an odd theory is put forward about Corinium, and some roads are open to question. I cannot think that Mr. Sieglin's Britain is so good as some of his other maps: some people might call it considerably worse.

Dr. Pfitzner's pamphlet is the outcome of a controversy with the late W. T. Watkin, who denied that the Roman troops ever entered Ireland. Mr. Watkin was not a scholar, but I must confess that his opinion seems to me in this case to be the true one. Dr. Pfitzner relies mainly on a passage in the *Agricola* which he misrenders, he builds much on what he thinks probable, and he has no archaeological evidence to produce which may justify his opinion.

F. HAVERFIELD.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF EURIPIDES' *PHOENISSAE*.

THE British Museum has lately acquired a vase of exceptional interest, belonging to the class which, inasmuch as a considerable number have been found at Megara or in the neighbourhood, are known as 'Megarian

bowls.' These bowls represent the last stage in the manufacture of vases in Greece proper, and belong to the Hellenistic period, about the end of the third century B.C. A red clay is employed in their production, which by means of firing at an excessive heat or the application of black varnish often assumes a black quasi-metallic appearance. They are of a hemispherical, sometimes cylindrical shape, and bear designs stamped or moulded in relief round the outside, with conventional decorative patterns. Where the designs are stamped, they are generally insignificant and with much repetition of the subject. It is not uncommon to find the same mould used for more than one vase.

It has been suggested that these vases were moulded from originals of silver for those who could not afford the more expensive material, much in the same way as plaster casts now-a-days do duty for original sculptures. The British Museum possesses two silver phialae from Roquemaure in France and two terracotta phialae (numbered G 88 and G 89), all with identical scenes, and these bear out the probability of the suggestion mentioned above.

The majority of these bowls bear subjects drawn from the epic cycle, reminding us of the *Tabulae Iliacae* and similar products of the age which devoted such attention to the illustration and exposition of Homer and the tragedians. It has been supposed that the *Homerii scyphi* of which the Emperor Nero was so fond (Suet. *Ner.* 47) were silver vases with subjects of this kind, and hence the name of 'Homeric bowls' has often been applied to them.

Professor Robert, in his valuable monograph, *Homerische Becher* (50tes *Winckelmannsfestprogr.* 1890), has collected all the known examples, including a small fragment in the British Museum (G 51), which Mr. Murray (*Class. Rev.* ii. p. 327) has shown to be an illustration of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. Hitherto only one other vase of this kind illustrating Euripides was known, and that existed in three copies at Athens, Berlin and in the van Branteghem collection; it gives several scenes from the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and is fully discussed by Prof. Robert. The Museum may therefore be considered doubly fortunate in this new acquisition, which curiously enough, like the fragment we already possessed, illustrates the Euripidean version of the Theban story as treated in the *Phoenissae*. The reliefs fall into four groups, and all the figures have their names inscribed above them, so

that there is no doubt about the interpretation, as will be seen from the following description.

The vase, which is said to have come from Thebes, is a hemispherical bowl of plain unglazed red ware. It has been considerably injured and broken, but fortunately no part is missing; the inscriptions however are somewhat worn away, and not always easy to make out. Above and below, the design is bordered by wreaths running all round, and on the foot is a rosette. The four scenes are as follows:

(1) Cf. lines 834—959. Kreon (ΚΡΕΩΝ), wrapped in a himation, is fallen at the feet of Teiresias (ΤΗΡΕΣΙΑΣ), and places his right hand on the seer's knee in supplication against the announcement that Menoikeus must die to save the state (lines 923—928):

KP. ὦ πρὸς σε γονάτων καὶ γερασμίων τριχός,  
TE. τί προσπίτνεις με; δυσφύλακτ' αἰτεῖ κακά.  
KP. σίγα· πόλει δὲ τοῦσδε μὴ λέξης λόγους.  
TE. ἀδικεῖν κελεύεις μ'; οὐ σιωπήσασιν ἄν.  
KP. τί δὴ με δράσεις; παῖδά μου κατακτενεῖς;  
TE. ἄλλοις μελήσει ταῦτ', ἐμοὶ δ' εἰρήσεται.

Teiresias is guided by his daughter Manto (ΜΑΝΤΩ), who in the play is a *persona muta* (cf. line 834, ἡγοῦ πάροιθε, θύγατερ· ὡς τυφλῷ ποδὶ | ὀφθαλμὸς εἴ σύ, κ.τ.λ.) She places her hands on his right arm, while he holds up in both hands what seems to be a large branch. In line 852 ff. of the play Teiresias says that he is bringing back a crown of gold (τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον) granted him for giving victory to the Cecropidae in their war with Eumolpos; it is however doubtful whether this wreath can be here intended.

(2) The next group is that of Eteokles (ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ) and Polyneikes (ΠΟΛΥΝΕΙΚΗΣ) in combat, thrusting at each other with their spears, as the messenger describes in his speech (1217—1263). On their right is the personified city of Thebes (ΘΗΒΗ) seated on a high rock, and wearing a mural crown; her presence perhaps signifying that the combat took place before the assembled population of the city.

(3) In the next group we have the messenger (ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ), in cap and short girt-up chiton, carrying a spear, and leading up Jocasta (ΙΟΚΑΣΤΗ) and Antigone (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ) to witness the combat between the brothers (cf. 1259—1282):

ΑΓ. στεῖχ, ἐρήτυσον τέκνα  
δευρὴς ἀμίλλης, ὥς ὁ κίνδυνος μέγας...  
ΙΟΚ. ὦ τέκνον ἔξελθ' Ἀντιγόνη δόμων πάρος...  
ΑΝΤ. ἡγοῦ σὺ πρὸς μεταίχμι', οὐ μελλήτεον.  
ΙΟΚ. ἔπειγ', ἐπειγε, θύγατερ, ὥς, ἣν μὲν φθάσω  
παῖδας πρὸ λόγχης, οὐμὸς ἐν φάει βίος,  
κ.τ.λ.

Jocasta hurries along and seems to turn back to Antigone, urging her to greater haste. Behind them is seen the doorway of the palace which they have just left.

(4) The last scene represents Kreon (ΚΡΕΩΝ) standing half-turned away from Antigone (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ), who bends forward in supplication before him, laying her hand on his arm; his arms are folded, and he has all the appearance of a person refusing to grant a favour. The reference is to lines 1643—1681, where Kreon makes known to Antigone his intention not to allow burial to Polyneikes:

ΑΝΤ. ναὶ πρὸς σε τῆσδε μητρὸς Ἰοκάστης,  
Κρέον.  
ΚΡ. μάταια μοχθεῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τύχοις τάδε,  
κ.τ.λ.

The artistic merit of the vase is of course small, and the treatment of the drapery and other details is of the rudest description. The modelling of the human figures too is often careless and confused, e.g. the Antigone in the fourth group, were it not for the inscription, might well be taken for a bearded man.

The existence even of these few vases with Euripidean subjects, taken in connection with the fondness of the vase-painters of Southern Italy for subjects derived from Euripides, tends to show the great popularity that he enjoyed in the third century B.C. all over Greece, which must have manifested itself in a general revival of his plays, in Athens and neighbourhood as well as at Tarentum, Paestum, and other important centres in Magna Graecia.

An illustration of this bowl will be given in the forthcoming volume iv. of the *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, which will include all the vases which can be attributed to the Macedonian and Hellenistic periods. I may mention in passing that another of these Megarian bowls in the British Museum appears to illustrate the rare subject of Herakles carrying off Auge, this group being repeated round the vase alternately with figures of Pan, who may be introduced to indicate the

scene of the rape, Arcadia. This subject cannot however be traced to any lost play or epic poem; the story is told by Pausanias (viii. 4, 6 and 48, 5) and Apollodorus (ii. 7, 4 and iii. 9, 1). A similar vase is published by Furtwaengler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, i. Pl. 73.

H. B. WALTERS.

### MONTHLY RECORD.

*Rome*.—In the Piazza Capo di Ferro has been found a nude male torso above life size, of Pentelic marble, the arms wanting. It is in good style, and probably represents Hermes. On the Via della Polveriera a base of a candelabrum has come to light, of triangular form, with figures of Diana, Mars, and Minerva.<sup>1</sup>

*Argos*.—The excavations of the American School have laid bare a large marble building believed to be the gymnasium, and also many bee-hive tombs of the Mycenaean age, in one of which were fifty-eight vases. Several new fragments of metopes from the

Heraion have also been discovered. In the lowest layer of the Heraion a number of imported Egyptian objects were found, mostly porcelain. They include a small lion with hieroglyphic inscription, figures of Bes, cats, and scarabs with cartouches of kings (chiefly Thothmes III. and Amenophis). They were presumably brought over by the Phoenicians.<sup>2</sup>

*Epidaurus*.—The stadium is now being excavated, and several rows of marble seats have been brought to light, in perfect preservation, resembling those found in the theatre. A considerable portion of the original structure has been preserved. Hopes are entertained of discovering the ἀφείσις and τέφρα, and the stelae that marked the starting-point, also the metae, and the direction followed by the racers.<sup>3</sup>

*Delphi*.—In the course of the most recent excavations a column has come to light sculptured with reliefs after the manner of those belonging to the archaic and later temples of Ephesus. The reliefs are in excellent preservation, and consist of three figures of women in rapid motion, with flying drapery.<sup>4</sup>

H. B. WALTERS.

<sup>2</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 19 and 26 May.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, 19 May.

<sup>4</sup> *Standard*, 15 June.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Comm. Arch.* Jan.-Mar. 1894.

### SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

**The American Journal of Philology**, Whole No. 57. April 1894.

*The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome*, by G. L. Hendrickson. An attempt to show that a very close parallelism exists between *Ar. Poet.* and Livy (vii. 2) and as a result that the *saturnae* of L. the *saturnae* of Euanthius de *comœdia* and the *saturnae* of Naevius are but the Roman designation of an analogue to the old Attic comedy. Some further hitherto-unnoticed analogies between the accounts of Livy and Horace (Epp. ii. 1, 145) are pointed out. *A collation of the ancient Armenian version of Plato's Laws, Books V. and VI.*, by F. C. Conybeare. Continued from No. 55 [*Class. Rev.* vi. 482]. *The ie-sound in accented syllables in English*, by E. W. Bowen. *On the authorship of the Leptinian orations attributed to Aristides*, by J. E. Harry. The object is to prove that Morelli was right in attributing them to Aristides. M.'s dictum was denied in 1841 by Foss, whose conclusion Schmidt accepts in his 'Atticismus' [W. Christ also agrees with Foss, *Hist. Gk. Lit.*]. There is a note on Cic. Tusc. i. §§ 18, 19 by E. W. Fay who keeps and interprets the MS. reading, and a list of corrigenda to Wickham's Horace by A. F. West. Peterson's ed. of the *Dialogues of Tacitus* is most unfavourably criticized by C. E. Bennett [*Class. Rev.* viii. 106]. Prof. Gildersleeve contributes an interesting dissertation on Plato, comparing Horn's *Platonstudien* with Pater's *Plato and Platonism*. Both the philological and the poetical aspects have their value but Pl. is a Proteus who will not reveal himself. Briefly mentioned are Tucker's *Eighth Book of Thuc.* [*Class. Rev.* viii. 152]. Burton's *Moods and Tenses in New Test. Greek*, Jebb's *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry* [*Class. Rev.* viii. 257], and Hübner's *Monumenta Linguae Hibericae*.

R. C. S.

**Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin**. May—August, 1893.

HOMER (higher criticism), 1891–2, by C. Rothe.

P. Cauer, *Eine Schwäche der Homerischen Denkart*. Rh. Mus. 47. Different strata, as Cauer thinks, are no doubt recognizable, but their extent is difficult to define and a judgment is always more or less subjective. R. Thomas, *Zur historischen Entwicklung der Metapher in Griechischen*. Diss. Erlangen 1891. A meritorious work showing the passage of many substantives, adjectives, and verbs from the literal to the metaphorical sense. K. Dyroff, *Ueber einige Quellen des Iliadskaskeuten*. Prog. Würzburg 1891. In three parts: (1) the new weapons, (2) the death of Patroklos, (3) the deceiving of Zeus. Hg, *Ueber die Homerische Kritik seit Fr. A. Wolf*. 1. *Die Wolf-Lachmannsche Richtung*. Prog. Ravensburg 1891. A strong upholder of the unity of the Iliad. R. C. Jebb, *Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey*. Glasgow 1892. J. is probably mistaken in considering that the difference in style of Ψ and Ω is sufficiently great to negative the view that they are by the same writer as the rest of the Iliad. As to the place of origin of the poem, we can only say that the first publication was Aeolic, but whether in Greece or in Asia Minor cannot be decided. G. Sortais, *Ilios et Iliade*. Paris 1892. It is here maintained that the Iliad is made up 'des rhapsodies séparées formant un tout distinct, qui peut suffire à une recitation, mais en même temps reliées entre elles par le fil de leur commune légende.' W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. 2nd ed. 1891. On the Homeric question the second edition exhibits only slight alterations, but the author is more cautious in his views upon the contradictions in the poem. E. Meyer, *Homerische Parerga*. 1. *Der älteste Homer-text*. Hermes 1892. Criticizes the fragment recently

found in Fayoum. The conclusion is drawn that before the Alexandrian critics the text showed many divergences, and that they chiefly reduced it to its present form. L. Erhardt, *Uias B.* Philol. 1892. As in A, Erh. recognizes a double motive in B, a divine and a human. The demonstration is clear and convincing. H. Düntzer, *Der Apologos der Odyssee*. Philol. 1891. Tries to weaken Rothe's proof, in a paper eleven years ago, that Poseidon's wrath is the middle point of the Nostos, by his favourite assumption of interpolation. A. Czyckiewicz, *Untersuchungen zur zweiten Hälfte der Odyssee*. Progr. Brody 1892. Considers that the second half also of the Od. has arisen from the joining of three epics, the old and younger Nostos and the Telemachia, and vainly endeavours to show their respective limits.

#### HORACE, by G. Wartenberg.

I. Editions. Q. *Horatii Flacci carmina*, by M. Hertz. Berlin 1892. The chief feature is the attention given to philology. Q. *Horatii Flacci opera*, ed. O. Keller and J. Haessner. 2nd ed. Wien and Prag 1892. A great improvement on the 1st edition, especially in the critical apparatus. *Horaz' tyrische Gedichte*, by G. H. Müller. Strassburg 1892. Rather led astray by his search for scorn and irony in Horace. Q. *Horatii Flacci opera*, by H. Stampini. Modena 1892. Belongs to the new Elzevir series. The text is conservative.

II. Dissertations. M. Boissier, *Acad. des inser.* 1892. On two medallions found at Pompeii supposed by the writer to represent Virgil and Horace. P. Cauer, *Wort- und Gedankenspiele in den Oden des Horaz*. Kiel and Leipzig 1892. No step in advance but a new wandering from the right path. W. A. Detto, *Horaz und seine Zeit*, 2nd ed. Berlin 1892. Excellently fulfils its aim. H. Düntzer, *Des Horatii Canidiegedichte*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. Contains nothing new or suggestive. W. Gemoll, *Die Reden bei Horaz*. Part I. animals and plants, clothing and dwelling, in the poems of H. Part II. cosmology, minerals, war, food and drink. Berlin 1892. These subjects here first meet with a satisfactory treatment. H. T. Karsten, *De Horatii carminibus amatoris praesertim interpretandis et ordinandis*. Mnemos. 1892. Builds a structure on sand in the absence of any real knowledge. L. Pöppelmann, *Bemerkungen zu Dillenburgers Horaz-Ausgabe letzter Hand*. Part III. Progr. Trier 1892. Chiefly treats of Od. iii. 1 and 2. G. Schimmelpfeng, *Erziehliche Horazlektüre*. Berlin 1892. Analyses Epist. i. 1 and 2. J. Vahlen, *Varia*. Hermes 25. On the word *speculatum* in Suetonius' Life of H. Horace. The Quarterly Rev. 1892. In a review of the literature of the last ten years H. is estimated, and especially the relation of the Satires to Lucilius and the question of the originality and truth of feeling in the Odes.

III. Criticism and interpretation of single poems and passages. The Odes. i. 2, 21. P. Barth in N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892, p. 335, conj. *secuisse* for *acuisse*. A. Platt, *Catull.* xi. *Horace*, Odes, ii. 6. Journ. of Phil. 1892. H. has not here imitated Cat. but both have imitated Alcaeus. ii. 10, 9. J. M. Stowasser, *Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn.* 1892, p. 208, supports the conj. *sacrius* by quoting Isid. Synon. ii. 89. G. H. Müller, *Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn.* 1892, p. 385, discusses ii. 20. K. Niemeyer, *Zur Erklärung des Horatii*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891. On iii. 1-6. Opposes Kiessling, Seliger and Mommsen, who appear to have rightly comprehended only 1 and 4. N.'s work is worth consideration. J. Vahlen, in his academical paper named below, maintains the unity of iv. 6. J. Vahlen, *Über das Sacculargedicht des Horatii* (Sitz-

ung d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. kgl. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. v. 24 Nov. 1892). Consists of two prayers (9-32 and 37-72), separated by the inserted invocation to Apollo and Diana. O. Crusius, *Ad scriptores latinos caecetia*. Rh. Mus. 1892. On Epod. 5. Rightly perseveres as against Diels in his earlier reference to Proclus. The Satires. ii. 5, 41. A. Gudeman, *A Classical Reminiscence in Shakespeare*. Modern Language Notes, 1891. Thinks Shakspeare (Hen. V. Act iii. 5, 50) took *Furius* as an adj. agreeing with *Alpis*. H. Dittmar, *Horatii libri ii. satiram vi. interpretatus est*. Part I. Progr. Magdeburg 1892. Shows sound judgment. L. Müller's latest lacuna-theories successfully opposed. The Epistles. Crusius (see above) interprets ii. 1, 79 *rectone talo percurat pul-pita theatri Attae fabula necne*. J. J. H. *Ad Horatii artem poeticam*. Mnemos. 1892. In A. P. 252 reads *ius est* for *iusit* [Cl. Rev. v. 138]. At the end O. Schroeder discusses Sat. i. 9, 6-8, especially whether *noris nos* is to be understood as a wish or as an assertion.

#### CICERO'S SPEECHES, by F. Luterbacher.

I. Contributions to knowledge of the manuscripts. A. C. Clark, *Collations from the Harleian MS. of Cic. 2682*. Oxford 1892. Has collated Harl. 2682, which is of the 11th century, and recognized in it the Cod. Coloniensis supposed to have been lost. P. Thomas, *Le codex Bruzelliensis (Parcensis) du Pro Caccina de Cicéron*. Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belg. 1892, 1893. This is MS. 14492 in the royal library at Brussels, a parchment cod. written apparently by one hand and about the beginning of the 14th century.

II. Editions. *Ausgewählte Stücke aus Cicero in biographischer Folge*, by W. Jordan. 4th ed. Stuttgart 1892. This beautiful selection from the speeches, philosophical and rhetorical writings, and the letters of Cicero gives the scholar a living picture of the life and literary activity of the great orator. M. Tullii *Ciceronis orationes selectae* xiv. 21st ed. by O. Heine. Part I. *Pro S. Roscio Amerino, pro lege Manilia*. Halle 1893. The critical apparatus not thorough. M. Tullii *Ciceronis in L. Catilinam orationes quatuor*, by R. Novák. 2nd ed. Prag 1893. This edition is increased by an account of the conspiracy. *Ciceros Reden gegen L. Catilina und seine Genossen*, by H. Nohl. 2nd ed. Leipzig 1893. Though without a commentary or critical apparatus, contains much useful introductory matter. *Ciceros Reden gegen L. Sergius Catilina*, by K. Hachtmann. 4th ed. Gotha 1893. The text should have been again weighed in places where H. differs from the agreement of Laubmann and Nohl. *Ciceros Rede für L. Murena*, by J. Strenge. Gotha 1892. The text well weighed and emended, and completed for pupils. The commentary clear and concise, and shows the course of the argument. *Ciceros Rede für T. Annii Milo*, by F. Richter and A. Eberhard. 4th ed. by H. Nohl. Leipzig 1892. Much improved both in matter and form. M. Tullii *Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone, pro A. Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro orationes*, ed. R. Novák. Prag. 1892. The text is based on Nohl's (1888). *Ciceros erste, zweite und siebente Rede gegen Marcus Antonius*, by J. Strenge. Gotha 1893. This edition will suit all readers. The text is based on C. F. W. Müller.

III. Contributions to text-criticism and interpretation. A. Spengel, *Zu Cicero pro Sesto Roscio Amerino*. Bl. f. d. bayer. G.S.W. 1891. Five places discussed. A. Kornitzer, (a) *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Ciceros Reden*. Progr. Nikolsburg 1891. (b) *Zum Canon der in der Schule zu lesenden Reden Ciceros*. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. (a) Ex-



amines ten places, viz. Verr. iv. §§ 2, 90, v. § 113, Cat. iv. § 11, Mur. §§ 43, 49, Planc. § 6, Mil. §§ 15, 39, Deiot. § 34, and seeks to justify the readings adopted in his edition. (b) A strong recommendation of the *pro Murena* for school reading. J. Lange, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892, p. 356. On Pomp. § 24. F. J. Drechsler, *Kritische Miscellen*. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. Various conjectures. F. Becher, *Zu Cicero pro Deiotaro*, § 35. Rh. Mus. 47. E. Jullien, *Le fondateur de Lyon, histoire de L. Munatius Plancus*. Paris 1892. Gives an admirable account of all we know of Plancus. The events of 44 and 43 are illustrated by Cicero's letters. P. Dettweiler, *Untersuchungen über den didaktischen Wert Ciceronianischer Schulschriften*. 1. *Die Rede pro Roscio Amerino*. Halle 1889. Considers that on account of its length and difficulty it is more suited for a small and good class than for a large one. 2. *Die philippischen Reden*. Halle 1892. No one would read the Philip-pics for their form, but the importance to Roman history of this time of change from a republic to a monarchy is undervalued by D.

TACITUS (except the *Germania*), 1892-93, by G. Andresen.

I. Editions and translations. C. John, *Tacitus Dialogus de oratoribus cap. xxviii. bis Schluss*, translated and explained. Progr. Schwäbisch Hall 1892. The translation is correct and elegant, the commentary learned and acute, but in many places the text is unsatisfactory. The previous part appeared in an Urach progr. 1886. P. Cornelii Taciti *Agricola*, with introduction, notes and critical appendix, by R. F. Davis. London 1892. Essentially based on Kritz' and Draeger's edition. Contains nothing new. [Cl. Rev. vi. 461.] *Tacitus, The History*, translated into English, with an introduction and notes, by A. W. Quill. Vol. i. London. [See Cl. Rev. vii. 167.] *Cornelio Tacito Gli Annali*, by V. Menghini. Part I. Books i. and ii. Torino 1892. Excellent both in text and commentary, and up to date except that the latest investigations on the campaigns of Germanicus in Germany are not referred to. P. Cornelii Taciti *ab excessu Divi Augusti libri i.-vi.*, ed. G. Némethy. Budapest 1893. Gives the variations from Halm's 4th ed., 69 in number. In these he often agrees with Nipperdey.

II. Historical investigations. Th. von Stamford, *Das Schlachtfeld im Teutoburger Walde*. Cassel 1892. A powerful book, but the writer uses too much untrustworthy evidence to solve the question. E. Meyer, *Untersuchungen über die Schlacht im Teutoburger Walde*. Progr. Berlin 1893. Uses the Fasti of Antium to throw light on the month in which the battle was fought. O. Kemmer, *Arminius*. Leipzig 1893. All that is valuable is taken from P. Höfer's three works on Arminius. G. Kossinna (Indo-Germ. Forsch. ii. 174-184) traces the name *Arminius* to a German *Erminz*. A. Taramelli, *Le campagne di Germanico nella Germania*. Pavia 1891. Much to be

commended. Differing from most authorities, T. thinks that the accounts of Tacitus and Dio of Varus' defeat can be reconciled. A. Breysig, *Germanicus*. 2nd ed. Erfurt 1892. Considers G. as the type of *pietas* in all its manifestations. He follows Tacitus' account of the campaigns in Germany. Phil. Fabia (Meeting of the Acad. des sc. et b.-l. of 7 April, 1893). Upon the year of Tacitus' consulship places it in 97, which was the date usually assigned before Asbach put it in 98, under Trajan.

III. Language. *Lexicon Taciteum*, ed. A. Gerber and A. Greef. Fasc. x., ed. A. Greef. Lipsiae 1892. Contains the words *oriens*—*potestas*. The same high standard of excellence is maintained. R. Macke, *Die römischen Eigennamen bei Tacitus* iv. Progr. Hadersleben 1893. The last part: the three previous parts appeared in 1886, 1888 and 1889. The *praenomina* are here dealt with. It is very common with T. to repeat a proper name where a pronoun would have been sufficient. R. B. Steele, *Chiasmus in Sallust, Caesar, Tacitus and Justinus*. Northfield, Minn. 1891. Chiasmus is less frequent in Caes. and Just. than in Sall. and Tac., and in the latter is more frequent than one would infer from Draeger (Synt. und St. des Tac. § 235). The examples in Dial. and Germ. (in which anaphora prevails) are proportionally fewer.

IV. Criticism and interpretation. H. J. Heller, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Taciteischen Werke*. Philol. 51. A great number of conjectures, mostly worthless. Two only in Ann. worth consideration, viz. i. 28 *quae properant*, and ii. 36 the insertion of *quum* before *legionum legati*. F. Zöschbauer, *Studien zu den Annalen des Tacitus*. Wien 1893. Written in the spirit of Pfitzner, with much acuteness, much originality, but little feeling for style. The last fifth part is a commentary, linguistic and technical, on vi. 16 and 17. W. Peterson, *Emendations on Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus*. [Cl. Rev. vii. 203.] None of these can be approved of. F. Walter, in the Abhand. aus d. Gebiete der klass. Altertumswiss. For the 60th birthday of W. v. Christ. München 1891. Makes some conjectures to Tacitus, viz. Agr. 33, Ann. xii. 63, H. iv. 73 and i. 67. O. Keller, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 145. On Baehrens' conj. to Agr. 5. In c. 17 Tac. uses *alterius* for the gen. of *alius*, which is not used. In c. 9 *elegit* is perf. P. R. Müller, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 145. Several conjectures on Agr. In Ann. i. 20 reads *nimius operis ac laboris*. S. Spitzer, *Weiner Studien* xiv. In Ann. xi. 27 reads *atque libum divisisse*. S. A. Naber (Mnemos. 20), doubts the trustworthiness of Tac.'s account of the pretended marriage between Messalina and Silius. Nixon (Acad. 1038) considers the question what river (*Trisantonis? Antonia?*) is meant in Ann. xii. 31. On the same chap. W. Ridgway (Archaeol. Journ. 1893) discusses the account of the battle against the Iceni. F. Haverfield (Archaeol. Journ. 1893) discusses the real name of the people called *Deceangi* in Ann. xii. 32.

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